

# MAPPING ISLAMICJERUSALEM





# MAPPING ISLAMIC JERUSALEM

*A rediscovery of geographical boundaries*



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*To my father  
who planted the love of Islamic Jerusalem in my heart*





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# CONTENTS

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....  | i         |
| CONTENTS .....   | iii       |
| MAPS .....   | vii       |
| FIGURES .....  | ix        |
| TABLES .....   | x         |
| NOTE ON transliteration .....  | xi        |
| FORWARD .....  | xiii      |
| <b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>  | <b>1</b>  |
| BACKGROUND .....   | 1         |
| HISTORICAL BACKGROUND .....  | 2         |
| FRAMEWORK FOR MAKKAH AND MADINAH .....   | 5         |
| THE PROBLEM .....  | 6         |
| THE AIM .....  | 7         |
| WHY? .....   | 8         |
| SOURCES AND METHODOLOGIES .....  | 8         |
| LITERATURE REVIEW .....  | 9         |
| <b>PART ONE: RELIGIOUS TERMINOLOGIES TO ISLAMIC JERUSALEM<br/>AND ITS SURROUNDINGS: THEIR EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES.....</b> | <b>11</b> |
| <b>CHAPTER ONE: THE EXTENT OF THE LAND OF BARAKAH.....</b>   | <b>13</b> |
| BARAKAH IN THE QUR'AN .....  | 14        |
| <i>Barakah bestowed on a being.....</i>  | <i>15</i> |
| <i>Barakah bestowed on an object.....</i>  | <i>16</i> |
| <i>Barakah bestowed on a text or statement.....</i>  | <i>17</i> |
| <i>Barakah bestowed in a "point in time".....</i>  | <i>19</i> |
| <i>Barakah bestowed on a place.....</i>  | <i>20</i> |
| THE LAND OF BARAKAH .....  | 23        |
| THE LOCATION AND EXTENT OF THE LAND OF BARAKAH.....  | 25        |
| <i>Extent of al-Sham.....</i>  | <i>26</i> |
| <i>Barakah Around.....</i>   | <i>32</i> |
| <i>The travelling of Solomon.....</i>  | <i>35</i> |
| <i>The migration of Abraham.....</i>   | <i>38</i> |
| <i>The Israelites' Inheritance.....</i>  | <i>41</i> |
| <i>The Ancient Journey.....</i>  | <i>43</i> |
| <i>Discussion.....</i>   | <i>45</i> |
| CONCLUSION.....  | 49        |

## CHAPTER TWO: THE EXTENT OF THE HOLY LAND .....51

|  |    |
|--|----|
| MUQADAS IN THE QUR'AN .....                          | 51 |
| <i>Al-Qudus</i> .....                                | 52 |
| <i>Rub' al-Qudus</i> .....                           | 52 |
| <i>Nuqadisul lak</i> .....                           | 52 |
| <i>Al-Wadi al-Muqadas</i> .....                      | 53 |
| <i>Al-Ard al-Muqadasah</i> .....                     | 55 |
| THE LOCATION OF AL-ARD AL-MUQADASAH .....            | 56 |
| THE EXEGESIS OF THE VERSE .....                      | 61 |
| <i>Al-Tur and the area around it</i> .....           | 62 |
| <i>Al-Sham</i> .....                                 | 63 |
| <i>Damascus, Palestine and parts of Jordan</i> ..... | 63 |
| <i>Jericho</i> .....                                 | 63 |
| <i>The land of Bayt al-Maqdis</i> .....              | 64 |
| <i>Both Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis</i> .....           | 64 |
| THE EXTENT OF THE HOLY LAND.....                     | 65 |
| ACCOUNTS ON THE EXTENT .....                         | 68 |
| <i>Al-Bakri (d.487AH/ 1094CE)</i> .....              | 68 |
| <i>Al-Tifashi (d.651AH/ 1251CE)</i> .....            | 69 |
| <i>Al-Himyari (d. 727AH/ 1327CE)</i> .....           | 70 |
| <i>Al-Qalaqashandi (d.821AH/ 1418CE)</i> .....       | 70 |
| <i>Al-Hanbali (d. 927AH/ 1521CE)</i> .....           | 72 |
| <i>Al-Tumurtashi (d. ~1127AH/ 1715CE)</i> .....      | 74 |
| <i>Ibn 'Ashur (d. 1393AH/ 1973CE)</i> .....          | 74 |
| CONCLUSION.....                                      | 74 |

## PART TWO: THE USAGE OF THE NAMES OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM..... 79

### CHAPTER THREE: THE NAMES OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM: FROM THE PRE-MUSLIM PERIOD UNTIL 23AH.....81

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| INTRODUCTION .....  | 81  |
| THE PRE-MUSLIM PERIOD IN ARABIA.....                        | 85  |
| PROPHETIC PERIOD.....                                       | 87  |
| <i>First connection</i> .....                               | 88  |
| <i>Al-Isra' (the Night Journey)</i> .....                   | 92  |
| <i>More verses after al-Isra'</i> .....                     | 95  |
| <i>Change of Qiblah after the Hijra to Madinah</i> .....    | 96  |
| <i>The building of al-Aqsa Mosque</i> .....                 | 96  |
| <i>Visit only three mosques</i> .....                       | 98  |
| <i>Abu Sufyan in Aelia</i> .....                            | 99  |
| <i>After the Take-over of Makkah</i> .....                  | 99  |
| <i>Tamim al-Dari</i> .....                                  | 100 |
| <i>Al-Ard al-Muqadasah</i> .....                            | 100 |
| <i>Hadith in Tabuk (fath Bayt al-Maqdis)</i> .....          | 101 |
| <i>Prophet Joshua marching to Bayt al-Maqdis</i> .....      | 102 |
| <i>Prophet John in Bayt al-Maqdis</i> .....                 | 103 |
| <i>The Land of Raising and Gathering</i> .....              | 103 |
| <i>Starting off on Pilgrimage from Bayt al-Maqdis</i> ..... | 104 |
| <i>People steadfast</i> .....                               | 104 |
| <i>Bayt al-Maqdis flourishing</i> .....                     | 105 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| <i>Between Bayt al-Maqdis and the Ka'bah</i> ..... | 105 |
| <i>Other Ahādīth</i> .....                         | 105 |
| <i>Conclusion</i> .....                            | 106 |
| FIRST MUSLIM PHASE.....                            | 106 |
| <i>Proposed burial in Bayt al-Maqdis</i> .....     | 106 |
| <i>Abū Bakr</i> .....                              | 107 |
| <i>ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb</i> .....                  | 108 |
| CONCLUSION.....                                    | 114 |

#### **CHAPTER FOUR: DEVELOPMENT OF THE NAMES OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM: FROM AFTER THE MUSLIM CONQUEST UNTIL THE CRUSADER PERIOD (23-500 AH)..... 117**

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| INTRODUCTION.....                             | 117 |
| PERIOD ONE (23-132 AH/ 644-749 CE).....       | 119 |
| <i>Use of the name 'Aelia'</i> .....          | 119 |
| <i>Use of the name 'Bayt al-Maqdis'</i> ..... | 127 |
| <i>Use of other names</i> .....               | 136 |
| <i>Conclusion</i> .....                       | 138 |
| PERIOD TWO (132-493 AH/ 749-1099 CE).....     | 139 |
| <i>Introduction of name Al-Quds</i> .....     | 139 |
| <i>Use of the name 'Bayt al-Maqdis'</i> ..... | 148 |
| <i>Use of other names</i> .....               | 156 |
| <i>Conclusion</i> .....                       | 159 |

#### **CHAPTER FIVE: DEVELOPMENT OF THE NAMES OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM: FROM THE CRUSADES UNTIL THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD (500-1300 AH)..... 161**

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NAME "AL-QUDS AL-SHARĪF"..... | 161 |
| USE OF THE NAME 'AL-QUDS'.....                        | 174 |
| USING 'LANDS OF AL-QUDS'.....                         | 184 |
| USE OF OTHER NAMES DURING THIS PERIOD.....            | 185 |
| <i>Using 'Bayt al-Maqdis'</i> .....                   | 185 |
| <i>Using Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis</i> .....                 | 186 |
| <i>Using "Arḍ al-Maqdis"</i> .....                    | 190 |
| <i>Using 'Bilād al-Maqdis'</i> .....                  | 191 |
| <i>Using 'al-Bayt al-Muqadas'</i> .....               | 192 |
| CONCLUSION.....                                       | 193 |

#### **PART THREE: THE GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM..... 197**

##### **CHAPTER SIX: THE EXTENT OF THE REGION ..... 199**

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| DIRECT REFERENCES.....                      | 200 |
| <i>Al-Maqdisi (d.390 AH/ 1000 CE)</i> ..... | 200 |
| <i>Al-Tijāshī (d.651 AH/1251 CE)</i> .....  | 211 |
| <i>Al-Umari (d.749 AH/ 1349 CE)</i> .....   | 215 |
| SOUTHERN BOUNDARY.....                      | 220 |
| DISCUSSION OF ACCOUNTS.....                 | 223 |
| CONCLUSION.....                             | 224 |

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| <b>CHAPTER SEVEN: INDIRECT REFERENCES TO THE REGION.....</b>                       | <b>227</b>     |
| <i>Jericho</i> .....   | 228            |
| <i>Bethlehem</i> .....   | 230            |
| <i>Hebron</i> .....  | 230            |
| <i>Karak</i> .....   | 233            |
| <i>Ascalon</i> .....   | 233            |
| <i>Lud</i> .....   | 234            |
| <i>Nablus</i> .....  | 234            |
| <i>Other Sites</i> .....   | 236            |
| GENERAL ACCOUNTS.....  | 237            |
| <i>Arḍ al-Quds</i> .....   | 237            |
| <i>Area of Bayt al-Maqdis</i> .....  | 239            |
| TOPOGRAPHICAL ELEMENT .....  | 240            |
| CONCLUSION.....  | 242            |
| <br><b>CHAPTER EIGHT: ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES OF<br/>ISLAMIC JERUSALEM .....</b> | <br><b>245</b> |
| <i>The wider region</i> .....  | 246            |
| <i>The administrative district prior to the Muslim conquest</i> .....              | 248            |
| <i>The administrative districts at the time of the Muslim conquest</i> .....       | 249            |
| <i>The administrative districts after the Muslim conquest</i> .....                | 251            |
| <i>The Crusader Period</i> .....   | 254            |
| <i>Ayyubids</i> .....  | 254            |
| <i>Mamluks</i> .....   | 255            |
| <i>Ottomans</i> .....  | 258            |
| CONCLUSION.....  | 260            |
| <br><b>CONCLUSIONS     &amp; RECOMMENDATION.....</b>                               | <br><b>261</b> |
| <b>CONCLUSION .....</b>  | <b>263</b>     |
| THE LAND OF BARAKAH AND THE HOLY LAND.....   | 264            |
| THE NAMES OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM .....   | 269            |
| THE REGION OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM .....  | 270            |
| MAP OF THE REGION .....  | 273            |
| SAME OR DIFFERENT .....  | 275            |
| RECOMMENDATIONS .....  | 276            |
| RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH .....   | 279            |
| <br><b>APPENDICES.....</b>   | <br><b>281</b> |
| <b>APPENDIX 1: .....</b>   | <b>283</b>     |
| TEXT QUOTATIONS .....  | 283            |
| <b>APPENDIX II:.....</b>   | <b>295</b>     |
| STUDY OF AL-MAQDISI'S MEASUREMENT .....  | 295            |
| <br><b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>   | <br><b>305</b> |
| <br><b>INDEX .....</b>   | <br><b>323</b> |

# LIST OF MAPS

|   |    |
|---|----|
| MAP 0.1: THE EXTENT OF THE ḤARAM REGION OF MAKKAH.....  | 6  |
| MAP 1.1: ROMAN PROVINCES IN AL-SHAM BEFORE THE MUSLIM CONQUEST .....  | 26 |
| MAP 1.2: PERCEIVED EXTENT OF AL-SHAM FROM SOME EARLY ACCOUNTS .....   | 27 |
| MAP 1.3: AL-İŞṬAKHRİ'S MAP OF AL-SHAM.....  | 29 |
| MAP 1.4: IBN ḤAWQAL'S MAP OF AL-SHAM.....   | 29 |
| MAP 1.5: AL-MAQDISI'S MAP OF AL-SHAM.....   | 29 |
| MAP 1.6: EQUIVALENT OF AL-İŞṬAKHRİ'S, IBN ḤAWQAL'S AND AL-MAQDISI'S MAPS.....                                     | 30 |
| MAP 1.7: THE MOST PROBABLE EXTENT OF THE REGION OF AL-SHAM IN THE EARLY<br>MUSLIM PERIOD .....                    | 32 |
| MAP 1.8: TOP ELEVATION OF AL-AQSA MOSQUE, WITH CIRCLES STARTING FROM ITS<br>CENTRE .....                          | 34 |
| MAP 1.9: CIRCLE SHOWING AN APPROXIMATE EXTENT OF PROPHET SOLOMON'S ONE-STOP<br>JOURNEY USING WIND.....            | 37 |
| MAP 1.10: SHADED AREA SHOWING THE AREA NOT PART OF THE LAND OF BARAKAH<br>FROM THE NORTH-EAST.....                | 39 |
| MAP 1.11: ANCIENT SITES IN EGYPT .....  | 41 |
| MAP 1.12: SHADED AREA SHOWING THE AREA NOT PART OF AL-ARḌ AL-MUBARAKAH<br>FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.....                | 42 |
| MAP 1.13: SHADED AREA SHOWING AREAS NOT PART OF THE LAND OF BARAKAH FROM<br>SOUTH .....                           | 44 |
| MAP 1.14: EXTENT OF THE LAND OF BARAKAH: SHADED PARTS SHOWING AREAS<br>EXCLUDED FROM BEING PART OF THIS LAND..... | 45 |
| MAP 1.15: EXTENT OF THE LAND OF BARAKAH: INNER CIRCLES WITH EGYPT ON THE<br>TANGENT .....                         | 46 |
| MAP 1.16: EXTENT OF THE LAND OF BARAKAH: AROUND AL-AQSA BOTH CIRCULAR AND<br>OVAL SHAPE .....                     | 48 |
| MAP 1.17: EXTENT OF THE LAND OF BARAKAH OVERLAYING THE EXTENT OF AL-SHAM.....                                     | 50 |
| MAP 2.1: POSSIBLE LOCATION OF THE HOLY VALLEY ALONG THE DOTTED LINE. ....   | 53 |
| MAP 2.2: POSSIBLE ROUTE TAKEN BY THE ISRAELITES AFTER LEAVING EGYPT .....   | 58 |
| MAP 2.3: SHADED AREA SHOWING THE AREA NOT PART OF THE HOLY LAND FROM THE<br>SOUTH-WEST .....                      | 59 |
| MAP 2.4: THE ROMAN ROAD NETWORK.....  | 60 |
| MAP 2.5: THE SOUTHERN AREAS EXCLUDED FROM THE HOLY LAND.....  | 65 |
| MAP 2.6: THE SOUTHERN AND EASTERN AREAS EXCLUDED FROM THE HOLY LAND .....   | 67 |
| MAP 2.7: AREA OF FORTY MILES BY FORTY MILES (SQUARE WITH CONTINUOUS LINE).....                                    | 69 |
| MAP 2.8: POSSIBLE EXTENT OF AL-ṬİFĀSHİ.....   | 70 |
| MAP 2.9: THE EXTENT OF AL-QALQASHANDI'S MAP; NAMED SITES UNDERLINED .....   | 71 |

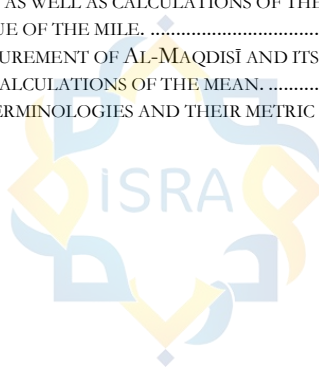
|  |     |
|--|-----|
| MAP 2.10: THE EXTENT OF THE HOLY LAND ACCORDING TO AL-ḤANBALĪ'S (DASHED LINE); OVERLAYING THE EXCLUDED AREAS .....                   | 73  |
| MAP 2.11: DIFFERENT DEPICTIONS OF THE EXTENT OF THE HOLY LAND .....  | 75  |
| MAP 2.12:: RELATION BETWEEN THE LAND OF BARAKAH AND THE HOLY LAND .....  | 76  |
| MAP 4.1: LOCATION OF CAESAREA AND AJNADIN WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF PALESTINA PRIMA WHICH CAN BE EQUATED WITH THE REGION OF AELIA ..... | 113 |
| MAP 6.1: MAXIMUM EXTENT OF AL-MAQDISĪ'S BOUNDARIES WITH AELIA AS CENTRE .....  | 203 |
| MAP 6.2: AL-MAQDISĪ'S NAMED LOCATIONS .....  | 207 |
| MAP 6.3: LINES TO THE NAMED LOCATIONS AND THE POSSIBLE EXTENT OF OTHERS .....  | 209 |
| MAP 6.4: COMBINATION OF MAPS 1 & 3: SYNTHESIS OF BOUNDARIES ACCORDING TO ANALYSIS OF AL-MAQDISĪ'S DESCRIPTION AND DIMENSION .....    | 210 |
| MAP 6.5: POSSIBLE EXTENT OF THE BOUNDARIES OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM BY AL-ṬĪFĀSHĪ .....  | 214 |
| MAP 6.6: AL-ʿUMARĪ'S POSSIBLE AXES .....   | 217 |
| MAP 6.7: TOPOGRAPHY OF THE REGION .....  | 218 |
| MAP 6.8: AL-ʿUMARĪ'S EXTENT OF THE BOUNDARIES FOR THE REGION .....   | 220 |
| MAP 6.9: THE APPROXIMATE AREA OF WILDERNESS AND THE POSSIBLE BOUNDARY WITH THE REGION OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM .....                     | 222 |
| MAP 6.10: FRAMEWORK OF THE EXTENT OF THE REGION OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM AS DERIVED FROM DIRECT ACCOUNTS .....                           | 225 |
| MAP 7.1: JERICHO AND GHOR .....  | 229 |
| MAP 7.2: HEBRON AND SURROUNDING AREA .....   | 233 |
| MAP 7.3: NABLUS AND SURROUNDING AREA .....   | 236 |
| MAP 7.4: EXTENT OF THE LAND OF CANAAN .....  | 238 |
| MAP 7.5: MOUNTAINS AROUND JERUSALEM EXTENDING FROM NABLUS TO KUSEIFA .....   | 240 |
| MAP 7.6: LOCATION OF MOUNT SHĪHAN .....  | 241 |
| MAP 7.7: LOCATIONS OF AREAS COVERED IN REFERENCE TO DIRECT FRAMEWORK SITE NAMES UNDERLINED .....                                     | 243 |
| MAP 8.1: BYZANTINE PROVINCES OF AL-SHAM .....  | 247 |
| MAP 8.2: APPROXIMATION OF THE AJNĀD .....  | 247 |
| MAP 8.3: AL-MAQDISĪ'S DIVISION OF THE AJNĀD .....  | 247 |
| MAP 8.4: ROMAN BOUNDARIES OF THE DISTRICT OF AELIA, FROM 135CE .....   | 248 |
| MAP 8.5: LOCATION OF CAESAREA AND AJNĀDĪN IN THE REGION OF AELIA = PALESTINA PRIMA .....   | 250 |
| MAP 8.6: BORDERS OF THE DISTRICT OF AL-QUDS DURING THE MAMLŪKS .....   | 257 |
| MAP 8.7: THE OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT MUTAṢARRIFYYĀT AL-QUDS AL-SHARĪF .....  | 259 |
| MAP 9.1: EXTENT OF THE LAND OF BARAKAH OVER REGION OF AL-SHAM .....  | 265 |
| MAP 9.2: MOST PROBABLE EXTENT OF THE HOLY LAND .....   | 266 |
| MAP 9.3: EXTENTS OF LAND OF BARAKAH AND HOLY LAND .....  | 268 |
| MAP 9.4: THE BOUNDARIES OF THE REGION OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM .....   | 274 |

# LIST OF FIGURES

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| FIGURE 1.1: STAGES OF TRAVEL ROUTE .....  | 43  |
| FIGURE 1.2: TOP ELEVATION OF AL-AQSA MOSQUE.....  | 47  |
| FIGURE 2.1: FORTY BY FORTY .....  | 68  |
| FIGURE 4.1: ARAB-BYZANTINE COINS MINTED IN AELIA, 660-680 CE .....  | 123 |
| FIGURE 4.2: ARAB COINS FROM THE TIME OF ‘ABD AL-MALIK .....   | 125 |
| FIGURE 4.3: MILESTONE 1 AND MILESTONE 2 .....   | 125 |
| FIGURE 4.4: STONE ENGRAVING .....   | 129 |
| FIGURE 4.5: SUGGESTED SITE BY KA’B.....   | 139 |
| FIGURE 4.6: MINTAGE OF AL-MA’MŪN BEARING THE NAME AL-QUDS .....   | 141 |
| FIGURE 5.1: DEVELOPMENT OF THE NAMES OF ISLAMICJERUSALEM FROM THE EARLY<br>MUSLIM PERIOD UNTIL THE PRESENT DAY..... | 194 |
| FIGURE 6.1: CROSS-SECTION OF THE REGION EAST TO WEST.....   | 207 |
| FIGURE 6.2: 40 MILES SQUARE .....   | 212 |
| FIGURE 6.3: 40 MILES FROM CENTRE.....   | 213 |
| FIGURE 6.4: 40MILES ROTATED ROUND THE CENTRE .....  | 213 |
| FIGURE 6.5: 40MILES SQUARE.....   | 213 |
| FIGURE 6.6: CROSS-SECTION OF TOPOGRAPHY OF REGION .....   | 219 |
| FIGURE 9.1: THE RELATION BETWEEN THE LAND OF BARAKAH AND THE HOLY LAND ..   | 267 |
| FIGURE 9.2: DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARABIC NAMES UNDER MUSLIM RULE.....  | 270 |
| FIGURE 10. 1: MILESTONE 1 .....   | 296 |
| FIGURE 10.2: MILESTONE 2.....   | 297 |
| FIGURE 10.3: TOP ELEVATION OF AL-AQSA MOSQUE.....   | 300 |
| FIGURE 10.4: TOP ELEVATION OF AL-KA’BAH.....  | 301 |

# LIST OF TABLES

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| TABLE 10.1: DISTANCE MEASUREMENT ACCEPTED BY THE MAJORITY OF SCHOLARS .....  | 296 |
| TABLE 10.2: DIFFERENT TERMINOLOGIES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS ACCORDING TO AL-<br>MAQDISĪ .....  | 299 |
| TABLE 10.3: MEASUREMENTS OF MONUMENTS IN CUBITS BY AL-MAQDISĪ AND THEIR<br>METRIC EQUIVALENTS, AS WELL AS CALCULATIONS OF THEIR MEAN VALUE, AND ITS<br>CORRESPONDING VALUE OF THE MILE. .... | 303 |
| TABLE 10.4: DISTANCE MEASUREMENT OF AL-MAQDISĪ AND ITS EQUIVALENT METRIC<br>VALUE, ALONG WITH CALCULATIONS OF THE MEAN. ....   | 303 |
| TABLE 10.5: AL-MAQDISĪ'S TERMINOLOGIES AND THEIR METRIC EQUIVALENTS .....  | 304 |





## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

| Arabic | Transcription |
|--------|---------------|
| ء      | '             |
| ا      | a             |
| ب      | b             |
| ت      | t             |
| ث      | th            |
| ج      | j             |
| ح      | ḥ             |
| خ      | kh            |
| د      | d             |
| ذ      | dh            |
| ر      | r             |
| ز      | z             |
| س      | s             |
| ش      | sh            |

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| ص | ṣ      |
| ض | ḍ      |
| ط | ṭ      |
| ظ | ẓ      |
| ع | '      |
| غ | gh     |
| ف | f      |
| ق | q      |
| ك | k      |
| ل | l      |
| م | m      |
| ن | n      |
| ه | h      |
| و | w      |
| ي | y or i |

|            |    |                    |
|------------|----|--------------------|
| Long       | آ  | ā                  |
|            | و  | ū                  |
|            | ي  | ī                  |
| Doubled    | ؤ  | uww (final form ū) |
|            | ئ  | iy (final form ī)  |
| Diphthongs | أ  | au or aw           |
|            | إ  | ai or ay           |
| Short      | اَ | a                  |
|            | اِ | u                  |



## FORWARD

Dr Khalid El-Awaisi is a passionate scholar in the field of IslamicJerusalem Studies. When I first interviewed Khalid in summer 2002, to consider his then application to begin a newly created MLitt programme in IslamicJerusalem Studies at Al-Maktoum Institute, it was abundantly clear even then that although his initial academic training was in the unlikely area of engineering, it was the questions and content of IslamicJerusalem Studies that fired his intellectual curiosity. Indeed, it was clear even at that early stage how much he was steeped in the literature (both English and Arabic) of the field, and the theoretical and methodological concepts at the heart of this emerging field of study.

As often happens within serious scholarship, the questions that Khalid began to ask during the pursued of that taught masters course – which formed the subject of his masters dissertation and then his PhD thesis – emerged out of his engagement with another scholar's work. That was a chapter in the thesis (and book) of Dr Othman Al-Tel, who was the first student to obtain a PhD from Al-Maktoum Institute, in October 2002. This question was on the geographical extent of IslamicJerusalem – that is, if the new concept of IslamicJerusalem has any physical dimensions, then how far does it extend? From research on classical sources, in particular Al-Maqdisi, it was becoming clear that the concept of IslamicJerusalem (as a new terminology for the Arabic concept of Bayt al-Maqdis) refers not only to the ancient walled city of Jerusalem (or Yerushalim or Al-Quds), but to a region that extends a quite number of miles outwards from the city.

Translating this concept into something that could be understood geographically is one of the greatest challenges that Khalid has had to face in his research. Al-Maqdisi, and other writers, have given indications and named places that are both within and outside of the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem, which have of course assisted Khalid greatly with the process of 'mapping IslamicJerusalem'. As this book shows, however, it is no easy task at all to reconstruct the broad – let

alone the specific – dimensions of the region that classical writers and thinkers considered to be the extent of IslamicJerusalem. The result of this is a series of maps, based on fine-grain research, that propose a contemporary interpretation of the classical religious concept of IslamicJerusalem.

As Khalid shows, however, the concept of IslamicJerusalem, and the maps that he produces are not meant to refer to any political or administrative area. Indeed much of the preliminary discussion of this research focuses on key religious ideas, particularly the Qur'anic concepts of the 'land of holiness' (al-Ard al-Muqaddasah) and the land in which there is Barakah (often referred to simply as al-Ard al-Mubarakah), which also relate in many ways to the additional concept of the 'land of the prophets'. Khalid carefully shows that each of these concepts is separate, and that classical interpretations of the land of holiness as being the same as the Land of Barakah are incorrect. Tentatively Khalid appears to suggest that the land of holiness may be similar to (or the same as) IslamicJerusalem. He does, however, caution that such a conclusion cannot be made on the basis of his own research, and that further investigation of this connection would be needed.

This does of course leave us with the questions that this research offers us, as much as with any conclusions that may be taken from it. Khalid himself cautions that the maps he produces are not intended as the final interpretation of the data, nor as a blueprint for anything other than an understanding of a key Muslim religious concept and framework – that is IslamicJerusalem itself. The connection between this place of barakah and historical conflicts is of course a challenge in itself. But it is very important to stress that this work is being offered for interpretation and analysis primarily with relation to the wider scholarship on IslamicJerusalem – particularly associated with Khalid's own father, Professor Abd al-Fattah El-Awaisi. That is, the vision of IslamicJerusalem as place with a vision coming from the heart of Islam, which is concerned with multiculturalism, safety, tolerance, and peaceful co-existence. It is for later scholars, including Khalid and future generations within the field of IslamicJerusalem Studies, to help us further understand how the concepts, the framework, and the boundaries that are discussed within this book relate to such an interpretation of the vision of IslamicJerusalem.

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# INTRODUCTION

Bayt al-Maqdis or IslamicJerusalem is one of the three most important areas in Islam. It has been mentioned in numerous verses in the Qur'an and in Prophet Muhammad's tradition, and since the rise of Islam has been a crucial part of the Muslim realm. This importance was evident in the initiation of new terminologies and names for this area.

The size and limits of IslamicJerusalem and the other entities around it were known to some long ago, today these have been confused and overlooked. When referring to IslamicJerusalem most people only refer to a small part of it, namely "the Walled City". The classical sources and the understanding of early scholars of the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem referred to an area of approximately 40 by 40 miles. Other entities of which IslamicJerusalem is a central part, the Holy Land and the Land of Barakah, are also misunderstood. A better understanding of these terms may be obtained by translating them into their geographical physical context.

## Background

There has been very little written on the extent of the region of IslamicJerusalem in modern scholarship. My interest was sparked by the work of Othman al-Tel (2003), where I realised there was more to it than meets the eye. This, however, was not the first time this topic had been considered. It had initially started out as a discussion between Abd al-Fattah El-Awaisi and Haithem al-Ratrout, during the latter's supervisory meetings for his PhD thesis. But it had not been pursued further by al-Ratrout, because it was not very relevant to his research on al-Aqsa Mosque. However Abd al-Fattah El-Awaisi asked another of his postgraduate students, Othman al-Tel, who was investigating the

historical events of the first Muslim conquest (Fath)<sup>1</sup> to look into the boundaries. He dedicated a chapter of his thesis to this, entitling it "The Topography and Geographical boundaries of Aelia (Islamic Jerusalem) region". This helped al-Tel resolve many of what had previously appeared to be contradictions in Muslim accounts and sources regarding the first Muslim conquest of Aelia (El-Awaisi 2005:40).

Reading al-Tel's chapter drew my attention to this topic and its importance. I first wrote one of my MLitt essays on it and found that it was in need of more research, since there were many gaps and flaws within the current research. In turn this drove me to choose the topic for my MLitt dissertation and PhD thesis.

### Historical Background

The area of Islamic Jerusalem with its Walled City has been given many names from time immemorial. Among its most ancient names were Yabus and Ur-Salim. On the eve of the first Muslim conquest, and for the five hundred years prior to that, the area was known as Aelia (Ibn Khaldūn 1999, v.1: 198; Wilkinson 1990: 88; Smith nd, v.1:271; Le Strange 1970:96). The use of this name continued for a while under Muslim rule. With the rise of Islam, new terminologies were introduced in the Qur'an, such as *al-Ard al-Mubarakah* (Land of Barakah) (Qur'an 7:137; 21:71,81; 34:18) and *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* (Holy Land) (Qur'an 5:21), along with other terminologies narrated in the Prophet's tradition, such as Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.2: 956; Muslim 2000, v.1: 88), as well as the use of its most common name of the time, Aelia (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.3: 1161; Muslim 2000, v.1: 567, v.2:880).

From the time of the first Muslim conquest Muslims used a mixture of these terminologies. The names predominantly in use were Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis. This was followed by a development of the name in the third century AH and the introduction of a new terminology *al-Quds*. This immediately appeared in the contemporary literature and later became Islamic Jerusalem's most common name. The name developed again, the word *Sharif* 'honoured/noble' being attached to it, to try to elevate its significance during the period of the Crusaders: thus it became *al-Quds al-Sharif*. This appeared in some literature during that period as well as in the post-Crusade literature, and continued to be in use all through the Mamlūk era. It was often in use during the Ottoman period,

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic literature the term used for the Muslim take-over of the region is Fath which does not carry the same meanings as conquest: in many cases it means peaceful take-over of an area as in Qur'an 48.

since the Ottomans frequently used the term *Sharif* to denote any name they wanted to exalt and praise.

Nowadays a mixture of these names is used, though the most common in Arabic is al-Quds. Still, when any of these names is mentioned, to the majority of people, including many prominent scholars, the name is usually considered to be an area confined to the Walled City (al-Tel 2003: 43). This is natural because, whenever an important location is mentioned, people tend to put stress on its chief part. *As for IslamicJerusalem, its crown is the Walled City, and al-Aqsa Mosque is its jewel.* This is where many have become confused, from very early times until the present day. These days, whenever any of the names of IslamicJerusalem is mentioned, only the Walled City comes to mind. This deprives IslamicJerusalem of many of its characteristics, such as its geographical space, as well as its historical, political and religious dimensions.

Another reason for the many confusions and contradictions was the substantial change of indigenous names in the whole of the region at the beginning of the twentieth century. This was part of an overall change to the map of the region.<sup>2</sup> From that time on, ancient names such as 'Palestine', 'Jordan' and 'Syria' represented areas different from those they had been representing for centuries. Syria has been reduced very much in size, Jordan is an area entirely different from the area it once was, and Palestine has been given new borders that have taken areas from one side and added areas to another.

Also different terminologies, of which IslamicJerusalem is a part, such as the Land of Barakah (*al-Ard al-Mubarakah*) and the Holy Land (*al-Ard al-Muqadasah*), were often confused together, as there is no exact definition of their extents. Muslim scholars so far have not attempted either to fully discuss or to resolve these aspects. Another reason for this confusion is the multiple usage of the terminology IslamicJerusalem – whether this be Bayt al-Maqdis, *Al-Quds* or *Al-Quds al-Sharif*. In most of the Muslim literature, these were used in three different contexts to mean mosque, city, and region.

To arrive therefore at a clear definition of IslamicJerusalem and to identify its boundaries will resolve many confusions and contradictions over a number of issues. One such issue relates to the conflicting dates for the first Muslim conquest of IslamicJerusalem. When chroniclers later came to record that date, they took accounts from people who had different perspectives of the geographical area. Therefore, when a part

<sup>2</sup> This primarily refers to the Sykes-Picot agreement in May 1916.

of IslamicJerusalem was conquered, some chroniclers recorded this as being the conquest of IslamicJerusalem, whereas others took it to mean the Walled City, and yet others that the whole of IslamicJerusalem had been conquered. Thus, some took the start of the conquest of IslamicJerusalem as being as early as 15AH (al-Ṭabarī 1997, v.2: 449-450),<sup>3</sup> and some took it as 16AH (al-Ya‘qūbī nd, v.2: 101), whereas others delayed the date to 17AH (al-Balādhurī 1987: 189). This has been resolved by al-Tel (2003) in his recent book, by investigating the problem from its geographical aspect, and finding that the city was taken in the year 16AH while other parts of the region were taken either prior or subsequent to the city.

Also it would delineate the extent of the distinct location, which the Prophet pointed to in his traditions. In the books of *faḍa’il* (excellences), incidents are mentioned such as *al-Isrā’* (the Night Journey), and in some traditions it is related that, while on the way to al-Aqsa Mosque, the Prophet stopped in Hebron<sup>4</sup> and Bethlehem<sup>5</sup>. In other narrations however only Bayt al-Maqdis is mentioned. Furthermore, in some of the futuristic events IslamicJerusalem is believed to be the land of the forthcoming *Khilafa*, as well as being part of the lands that the Antichrist would not enter. In addition, it is believed to be the land where the dead are raised and gathered. There is a *hypothetical* case to be made here: that is, if IslamicJerusalem is taken to be a region in these narrations, it might mean that, when the Prophet prayed in Bethlehem, he was in IslamicJerusalem. In addition, the centre of the forthcoming *Khilafa* could be anywhere in the region, not necessarily within the Walled City. It might also mean that the Antichrist would not enter the whole region. As for the place where the dead will be gathered, there are some accounts that this would be around Beersheba (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.3: 218).<sup>6</sup> These can be accepted, or at least reconsidered, if the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem did in fact extend to that area.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ṭabarī gives the date as early as 15AH, as well as giving another account in 16AH.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Murajjā (1995: 331); Ibn al-Jawzī (1989: 75); Ibn Al-Jawzī (1979: 120); al-Nuwayrī (nd: 98); Al-Khawarizmī (2000: 435); al-Ḥanbalī (1999: 139).

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Al-Jawzī (1979: 120); Al-Maqdisī al-Jamā‘ī (1988: 84); al-Nuwayrī (nd.: 1821); Al-Zarkashī (1995: 209).

<sup>6</sup> Al-Ḥamawī refers this to a commentary by Ibn al-‘Arabī, from an authentic tradition ins Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. The researcher did not have access to Ibn al-‘Arabī, therefore he looked at other commentaries of this Ḥadīth, but there was no reference to this area in the commentary. See Ibn Ḥajar (1997, v.6: 627-634).



Then again, if there were any Islamic rulings such as *Ihrām*<sup>7</sup> and prayer rewards specifically for IslamicJerusalem, these could be applied to the whole region. Thus, in the case of *Ihrām*, a person in Jericho does not have to go back to the Walled City to perform this duty. Also where prayer is concerned, it might not be necessary to come to the Walled City itself to receive the same rewards, similar to the ruling for the whole of Makkah. This could be so with some of the aspects mentioned above, though not all, as there is other evidence in other traditions that restricts some of these either to the city or even just to its mosque.<sup>8</sup>

Defining the terminologies related to IslamicJerusalem, and identifying its boundaries, would also explain many other concepts that are still vague, such as what exactly early Muslims meant whenever IslamicJerusalem was mentioned. This could clear up many discrepancies concerning locations of birth, death,<sup>9</sup> residency, command, and so on.

### Framework for Makkah and Madinah

IslamicJerusalem constitutes one of the three most important sites in Islam, together with Makkah and Madinah. Both Makkah and Madinah had distinct boundaries from the early Muslim period. Makkah had religious boundaries, known as the *Haram*, well before Islam and was revered by the Pagans of Makkah (Dhaish nd:38-49, 59-62). It was a large region that spanned over forty kilometres in width and thirty in length (map 0.1).

<sup>7</sup> *Ihrām* is to enter into a state of ritual of consecration when preparing for Pilgrimage Hajj or 'Umrah to Makkah.

<sup>8</sup> The above discussion is just hypothetical, since investigating this is not part of the aims of this research. But there are some traditions of the Prophet (PBUH) that restrict the actions of *Ihrām* at specifically al-Aqsa Mosque, while other accounts leave this open for IslamicJerusalem. With regard to prayer, this is specified as to be held only at the Mosque. As for the Antichrist, it is believed that it is probably the walled city that he does not enter, as in other traditions it is mentioned that he is killed in the gate of al-Lud, which is thought to be part of IslamicJerusalem. See also Jabareen (2006) and Nor (2006).

<sup>9</sup> There are many conflicting accounts on where 'Ubadah Ibn al-Ṣamiṭ passed away, some say it is Ramla, while others say it was in *Bayt al-Maqdis* (IslamicJerusalem). The same for Wa'ilah Ibn al-Asqa' (d.83AH) who settled and died in *Bayt Jibrin*: some accounts state again *Bayt al-Maqdis*. If Ramla and *Bayt Jibrin* are found to be part of IslamicJerusalem, then this discrepancy would be resolved.



Map 0.1: The extent of the Haram region of Makkah  
Source: Dhaish nd:409

This, however, seems to have been entirely different from its administrative extent, though it is not known how far its administrative district extended. The case for Madinah is much clearer as before Islam it had no religious connotation at all, and its administrative area would have thus been obvious. Moreover, when Prophet Muhammad arrived he specified a religious extent for Madinah, which became known as the *Haram* of Madinah (al-Qāri' 2001). Was this perhaps also the case for IslamicJerusalem – had the Prophet reached it, would he have set religious boundaries for it? Could he have passed on this information to his companions? Might it have been mentioned in the Qur'an – or had it been passed on orally for generations? But the cases for Makkah and Madinah, one may argue, are different since there are specifically forbidden acts within their regions, i.e. cutting trees, hunting and so on. Could there have been a similar marked-out region for IslamicJerusalem but with a different scope? This is the question addressed by the author.

### The Problem

Without specifying the exact extent and the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem, it would be extremely hard to fully understand all aspects relating to it. As shown above, partially understanding the

geographical space has helped to provide some answers to what were thought to be historical contradictions, inaccuracies and confusions.

Whenever IslamicJerusalem has been studied, only the City of IslamicJerusalem has been considered, the rest being divided into numerous districts of cities and towns, each discussed and studied separately and never talked about as a single entity. Studying IslamicJerusalem as one entity has not been done in recent times, because this concept has gradually faded. There is now however a new field of inquiry: IslamicJerusalem Studies, which is investigating and teaching the whole of the region rather than just the city.

The extent of the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem in the major Muslim Sources are also not fully established, and there are many questions still vague and needing answers, such as:

- What did the terms and names related to IslamicJerusalem refer to: the mosque, city, or the region? And did they change over time?
- What did the classical sources consider the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem to be?
- What were the exact equivalents of the dimensions given to the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem?
- Are IslamicJerusalem and the Holy Land (al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah) the same entity?
- Is there any relation between the Land of Barakah (al-Arḍ al-Mubarakah) and the region of IslamicJerusalem?
- What do the terms Land of Barakah and the Holy Land refer to geographically? Are they distinct from each other or are they one entity?
- What types of different boundaries for the region existed and how were they used, e.g. administrative and political?
- How have the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem related to the various administrative boundaries of the area throughout the ages? Did they remain constant or did they change over time under different reigns?

### The Aim

The main aim is to bring about a firm understanding of the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem, which have never been studied in detail, and to provide a framework that will give a full and not just a partial understanding of IslamicJerusalem.

Therefore the objectives are:

- To establish whether IslamicJerusalem is considered in the early sources as being much more than just a mere city or a large region approximately a forty-mile radius from the Walled City;
- To examine all accessible records of the boundaries;
- To provide an accurate estimation of the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem;
- To investigate the nature of the boundaries to determine whether they were administrative, political or otherwise;
- To establish an understanding of the extent of other entities in the surrounding area such as the Land of Barakah and the Holy Land.

### Why?

Since the different geographical entities have not previously been closely examined, these aspects will be looked at more profoundly and critically and some of the ambiguous uses of names that IslamicJerusalem bears will be clarified. This will help enormously in understanding how names have transformed and developed in different eras.

An accurate dimension of the limits of IslamicJerusalem in every direction is also needed, and this will be accompanied by maps and illustrations of the extent of this area.

It is vital in the new field of inquiry of IslamicJerusalem in particular and to the identity of IslamicJerusalem in general to gain a better understanding in a more holistic manner of what has been obscure for some considerable time.

### Sources and methodologies

An analysis of classical literature sources involved the use of local, national, and international libraries: libraries of Al-Maktoum Institute, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow, as well as other university libraries in England and the British Library. Data was also collected from private and university libraries in Arab counties; these included those of the University of Jordan and of the Sacred Mosque in Madinah. This was in addition to electronic resources and books when hard copies were inaccessible. This included many electronic libraries such as al-Waraq ([www.alwaraq.com](http://www.alwaraq.com)) and al-Eman ([www.al-eman.com](http://www.al-eman.com)).

The main primary sources were geographical and historical, as well as the Qur'an, its exegesis and the traditions of the Prophet. This was as well as the use of detailed maps of the region. Much of the literature

used had to be translated into English, and some of the already translated texts had not been accurately done. As for the translation of the Qur'an, various translations such as those of Khan, Pickthall and Ali were used; however, the author's own wording and translation were used much of the time.

As the data was collected and identified, all the relevant citations were marked from the different sources. As some narrations would have an explicit relevance while others would have an indirect relevance, linguistic methodology came into play, to try to identify exactly what was meant in each passage.

Geographical methodology was also used. This included town analysis from maps and topographical data, as well as drawing maps of the boundaries which was done on sophisticated programs such as AutoCAD. In addition, mathematical analysis was used, mainly in analysing dimensions to try to arrive at the metric equivalents for specific ancient metrological measurements.

In addition, comparative and historical methodologies were used. Biographies of certain individuals were studied as part of the science of biographies "*ilm al-Rijāl*". Not forgetting the Ḥadīth and *Tafsīr* methodologies which were very frequently used to analyse certain texts or passages. The Ḥadīth methodology was particularly helpful in authenticating narrations and finding the time-frame in which a certain Ḥadīth had been fabricated or altered. On the Qur'anic methodology, the approach of understanding the Qur'an by the Qur'an was adopted for much of the time.

Fieldwork included visiting some of the sites being studied –where this was feasible– giving a better understanding of the nature of the area. This was the case in the eastern and south-eastern extents of the region of IslamicJerusalem situated in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan today, when the topography and limits of this region in its actual character away from theoretical textual investigation could be seen.

## Literature Review

Literature that has been consulted varies from geographical and historical books to *Tafsīr* and Ḥadīth. Both classical and modern literature have been examined, although in modern times very little has been written on many of the topics discussed and especially on the extent of IslamicJerusalem because IslamicJerusalem Studies is a new field of inquiry. It has however a growing number of publications (e.g. El-Awaisi 2005, al-Ratrout 2004). But on the issue of the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem, only a few piece of work has been written –by Othman

al-Tel (2003) and the author (2003). In the classical sources either direct or general reference to this issue were made. Al-Maḡdisī (1906) has the most comprehensive account on the region but he only dedicated one paragraph to this issue, and the same would apply to others such as al-ʿUmarī (1986). One scholar who dedicated a whole manuscript to many of the issues under discussion was the eighteenth century scholar al-Tumurtāshī (1998). In his book however his main approach was to gather a number of classical opinions without giving his own.

Much of the early chapters of this book concentrate on Qurʾanic concepts and their exegesis. Over thirty books of *Tafsīr* have been consulted during this research covering classical *Tafsīr* (e.g. Al-Ṭabarī, 1999), juristic (e.g. al-Qurṭubī, 1998), rational (e.g. al-Rāzī, 1990) and modern (e.g. Quṭb, 1996). These are in addition to the traditions of Prophet Muhammad extensively used in chapter Three. The main sources of the *Aḥādīth* were the compilations of al-Bukhārī (2000), Muslim (2000), Abū Dawūd (2000) and al-Nasāʾī (2000). The many other books of *Aḥādīth*, though maybe less authentic than some of those named above, have been of great importance in revealing important information especially with regard to the use of the names.

The main sources for the later chapters (chapters 4 and 5) are mainly historical, covering a wide spectrum from the early Muslim period until the late Ottoman period. This includes the works of al-Azraqī (2002), al-Balādhurī (1987), al-Ṭabarī (1998), Ibn ʿAbd Rabūh (nd), al-Aṣḡahānī (nd), Ibn Khaldūn (1999), al-Maradī (nd) al-Ḥanbalī (1999). In most cases, these sources were not used to investigate an event or an incident, but rather to explore the names used and what they referred to, especially when they specified certain sites as being part of the region. That is, the historical sources were used to explore the historical development of the use of the names of Islamic Jerusalem over a wide time period.

Many geographical sources were regularly used especially when looking at geographical entities. These included works of prominent Muslim geographers such as al-Iṣṭakhṛī (1927), Ibn Ḥawqal (1938) and al-Maḡdisī (1906). Their work clearly helped map the different geographical entities and their historical equivalents. Many linguistic sources were also consulted, such as the dictionaries of al-Zubaydī (1994) and Ibn Manẓūr (1999) which paved the way to a better understanding of many of the classical terms and concepts.

PART ONE:  
RELIGIOUS TERMINOLOGIES TO  
ISLAMIC JERUSALEM AND ITS  
SURROUNDINGS: 'THEIR EXTENT'  
AND BOUNDARIES





# THE EXTENT OF THE LAND OF BARAKAH

The name Bayt al-Maqdis is one of many names and terminologies that refer to this blessed area, the most prominent of which are *al-Arḍ al-Mubarakah*<sup>1</sup> and *al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah*. These were introduced in the Qur'an, in addition to those found in the Prophetic traditions. The Qur'anic terminologies are the main focus of part 1 (chapters one and two), whereas chapter three in part 2 deals with the Prophetic traditions in a different way.

Qur'anic reference to the area of Islamic Jerusalem and its surroundings is made over thirty-three times; some are explicit and some are implicit. A few of the explicit references refer to this area as *al-Arḍ al-lati Bāraknā fiha* (the Land of Barakah)<sup>2</sup> and *al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah* (the Holy Land). The other terminologies are mostly implicit but are understood by the exegetists to refer to this area.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, these two terminologies refer to distinct regions, while the other implicit terms are quite vague and sometimes just refer to a site within the area rather than the overall area which we are trying to define. Just where does Islamic Jerusalem lie within these two regions? This chapter examines the first term "the Land of Barakah" to arrive at an understanding of its extent. The next chapter looks at the second term "the Holy Land" to try to identify its

<sup>1</sup> It must be noted that the term *al-Arḍ al-Mubarakah* is not mentioned in the Qur'an in this form; however, it is derived from a Qur'anic terminology. Thus, and for the sake of simplicity, it will be used in this form *al-Arḍ al-Mubarakah* or the Land of Barakah.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: the Land in which We have placed Barakah (blessing).

<sup>3</sup> These include *al-Qiblah* (the direction of prayer), *Rabwah* (the raised area), *al-Tin wal-Zaytoun* (the Fig and the Olives), *Mabwa' Sidq* (honourable dwelling place), *Makān Qarib* (a place near), *al-Mihrāb* (the niche), *al-Qaryah* (the town), *al-Diyār* (the dwellings), *al-Arḍ* (the Land) and so on.

extent as well. Both these areas help later on to define the area of Islamic Jerusalem, exploring the similarities, overlaps, and differences.

Direct Qur'anic reference to the Land of Barakah, the land of many Prophets and their dwelling place, was made explicitly four times (Qur'an 7:137, 21:71, 21:81, 34:18), whilst numerous other verses referred to specific parts. These four verses, and a fifth referring to a central part of this land (Qur'an 17:1), were all revealed in the early stage of Islam in Makkah well before the Migration (*Hijra*) to Madinah. The verses cover this area from different angles, which will help in mapping out a good approximation of the region from various directions.

The verses will be examined in detail in order to try to arrive at the extent of this land in every direction. This is done by first looking at the context of each verse and evaluating the different exegesis on the verse as well as linking it with other verses on the same topic. However, before embarking on this discussion it is important to get a grasp of two important concepts. The first is grasping the root and meaning of Barakah and its other Qur'anic usages to gain a better understanding of the concept. This will be achieved by mainly looking at other Qur'anic verses with similar terminologies, thus implying the methodology of comprehending the Qur'an by the Qur'an. The second is grasping the extent of the area of al-Sham as it is nearly always equated with the Land of Barakah, giving an insight into another entity to give a better knowledge of this area.

### Barakah in the Qur'an

The root of the word Barakah comes in thirty-two verses in many forms (*tabāraka*, *mubārak*, *mubārakah*, *baraknā*, *barakatūh*, *barakāt*, and *bourika*). Its meaning can be approximately translated as blessing, but it carries many other meanings that have a sense of continuity such as growth, gain, expansion, comfort and staying put (al-Fayrūzabādī 1991: v.3, 426-427; al-Zubaydī 1994: v.13, 514-515; Ibn Manẓūr 1999: v.1 386-387). It is also argued that Barakah is the divine goodness placed in a thing and, though this is invisible, its effects are detectable (El-Awaisi 2005:28). When the different meanings of Barakah in the Qur'an are explored, this leads to a better understanding of what it means for this land to be the Land of Barakah. As the best way to understand the Qur'an is by looking at other verses that might better explain them, there are certain verses that share the term being investigated, giving a greater insight into its meaning.

Barakah in the Qur'an comes in two main contexts, the first is the Barakah of God and always comes in the specific terminology of

*Tabāraka*, and the second is the Barakah God gives to His various creations. Not much is known about the first context, although it is mentioned in ten places in the Qur'an; the what and the how are unknown. But it is argued that one of the meanings of the word *Tabāraka* is "to be exalted", and not growth or expansion, because God has no need of this, rather He is the one who grants all Barakah (al-Judā'ī 2000: 29-30). Ibn al-Qayyim adds, after discussing the many arguments on this issue, that the meaning of the word *tabāraka* comes from the fact that Allah is everlasting, full of good, magnificent, and everything that has Barakah is from His granting and grace (al-Judā'ī 2000: 36).

In contrast, the second type of Barakah is of great importance as it refers to visible entities, geographical areas amongst them. This context can be divided into five categories: the Barakah God bestows on a being; object; 'point in time'; text or statement; and place.<sup>4</sup> Each of these is now looked at in more detail, to give a better understanding of the Barakah in *al-Arḍ al-Mubarakah*.

### Barakah bestowed on a being

Five verses in the Qur'an refer to Barakah bestowed on people. The Barakah in these verses refers to named individuals: the Prophet Noah and some of his offspring, the Prophet Abraham and his family, the Prophet Isaac, the Prophet Moses and the Prophet Jesus. One verse implicitly refers to the angels. These verses are as follows:

1. ...O **Noah**, come down (from the Ark) with peace from Us and **Barakāt** on **you** and on **some of the nations** (who will spring) from those with you... (Qur'an 11:48)
2. ... The Mercy of Allah and His **Barakāt** be upon you, **People of the house (of Abraham)**! ... (Qur'an 11:73)
3. And We bestowed **Barakah** over him (**Abraham**) and **Isaac**... (Qur'an 37:113)
4. But when he (**Moses**) came to the (Fire), a voice called him: "**Bourika** those **in the Fire and those around** (the Angels and Moses)... (Qur'an 27:8)
5. And He has made me (**Jesus**) **Mubarak** wheresoever I be... (Qur'an 19:31)

This Barakah as explained by the classical Qur'anic exegetists is primarily grace for the individual. It could also be beneficial for others who come into contact with that individual, by attaining radiations of their Barakah in many ways, one of which is by being part of the family of that

<sup>4</sup> After dividing these into categories the researcher found similar but not identical categorisation of Barakah. These are: the Qur'an; certain individuals, certain Mosques, certain times and other (al-Judā'ī 2000: 41-43).

individual with the condition of following his teachings. For others who are not relatives they can be part of this individual's enjoining the good and forbidding the evil, and also part of the supplications of these individuals which are fulfilled (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.8: 338-339; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.6(11): 29-30; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.3: 108) and, in some cases, their miracles. This is in addition to being believers in their message as understood from the first verse, that only nations who believe will have this Barakah as is explained by Ibn Kathīr (1997, v.2:385). Also this Barakah could mean the Prophets having virtuous offspring, as was the case with the Prophets Noah and Abraham; all the messengers subsequent to them came from their lineage (al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.5(9): 44, 64). Furthermore, the Barakah of these individuals is that their names live on for ever; this is indubitably evident in the Prophets named above.

### Barakah bestowed on an object

What is meant by objects here is matter such as water, plants, fruits and so on. This kind of Barakah is mentioned three times in the Qur'an:

1. ... a **Tree** that is **Mubarakah**, an **Olive**, neither of the East nor of the West ... (Qur'an 24:35)
2. ... We should indeed have opened out to them (all kinds of) **Barakat** from the **sky** and the **earth** (Qur'an 7:96)
3. And We sent down from the sky **water** that is **Mubarak** and We made gardens grow by it and grain for harvesting (Qur'an 50:9)

The first verse refers to a specific tree, the Olive tree, which is considered to be in a location that is neither in the east nor in the west. The Barakah is in the tree itself, and the verse refers specifically to the Oil that comes forth from the tree (al-Māwardī nd: 24/35). Al-Baghawī adds that the verse refers particularly to Olive trees which grow in the area of al-Sham (historical Syria), which have the benefits of both eastern and western Olive trees. He states that there are other signs of this Barakah in the Olive tree, including advantages in curing certain illnesses. Also its produce is eaten, and it has other uses such as lighting and massage (al-Baghawī 2002, v.4:116; Ibn 'Aṭīyah 2001, v.4: 184-5). This is further supported by a saying of the Prophet "eat from the Olive tree and massage with it, as it comes from a blessed tree" (al-Tirmidhī 2000, v.1:486; Ibn Mājah 2000:484). Quṭb adds that this is manifested in the ability of the tree to survive for generations and that its Barakah lies in the fact that everything in the Olive tree is beneficial – its oil, wood, leaves and its produce. And as the Qur'an adds, its oil is so special it glows without needing to catch fire (Quṭb 1996, v.4:2519-20). In another verse where the Olive is referred to (Qur'an 95:1), it is

understood by the majority of exegetists to be a metaphorical reference to Bayt al-Maqdis (*see* chapter four).

The second verse refers to the *barakāt* of the sky and the earth: the Barakah of the sky is the rain and the Barakah of the earth is what grows in it (al-Māwardī nd: 7/96; al-Zamakhsharī 1995, v.2:129; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.4:228; al-Baghawī 2002, v.2:302; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.2: 206). Others include the sun and wind to the Barakah from the sky; as for the Barakah of the earth, they include animals, cattle and having peace and security (al-Rāzī 1990, v.7(14):150). Al-Māwardī also adds that the Barakah of the sky is the acceptance of people's supplications, and the Barakah of the earth is making life easy (Ibn ‘Aṭīyah 2001, v.2: 432). Finally, al-Tha‘ālibī concludes that these are only parts of these *barakāt* that we are able to see, but there are many more that only God knows (al-Tha‘ālibī nd: 7/96).

As for the third verse, it talks about the water that comes down as rain, which is full of Barakah. This Barakah lies in the fact that water is beneficial and returns things to life, and that nothing can live without water (Ibn al-Jawzī 1987, v.8:8; al-Baghawī 2002, v.5:132; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.:189) as in Qur’an 21:30. Furthermore, Ibn ‘Āshūr adds that the Barakah in the rain water, is in that it helps bring forth very good things such as plants, trees and so on (Ibn ‘Āshūr nd: 50/9).

### Barakah bestowed on a text or statement

This kind of Barakah is in a text or specific words and it is found in the Qur’an in two contexts. The first is the Muslim greeting, and the second comes with reference to the Qur’an. These verses are:

1. But when you enter the houses, greet one another with the **greeting from Allah, Mubarakah** and pure (Qur’an 24:61)
2. And this is a **Book** which We have sent down, bringing **Barakah**, and confirming what came before it... (Qur’an 6:92)
3. And this is a **Book** which We have revealed as a **Mubarak**... (Qur’an 6:155)
4. And this (**Qur’an**) is a reminder laden with **Barakah** which we have sent down. So are you going to deny it (Qur’an 21:50)
5. (Here is) a **Book** which We have sent down unto you, full of **Barakah**... (Qur’an 38:29)

The first verse refers to the Muslim greeting *Assalām ‘Alykom wa Raḥmat Allah wa Barakātuh* (Peace be upon you, and the Mercy of Allah and His Blessing). God identifies this specific greeting to be from Him as *mubarakah* and good. This Barakah comes in many forms. The first is that, when someone greets another person, he or she is actually praying to God for the good of that person. At the same time the person

starting the greeting gets a reward for saying it and his/her reward is being multiplied many times, especially he or she says it in full (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.9:368; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.6:296; al-Zamakhsharī 1995, v.3:251; al-Rāzī 1990, v.12(24):33; al-Baghawī 2002, v.4:127).

As for the second context, this comes in four verses in the Qur'an, and refers directly to the Qur'an. The exegetists argue that the Barakah in the Qur'an lies in the fact that it is full of goodness and benefits (al-Zamakhsharī 1995, v.2:42; v.3:118; al-Rāzī 1990, v.7(13):66-7; v.11(22):155; al-Nasaḥī 1996, v.2:34; v.3:124; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.4:130; al-Alūsī 1994, v.4(8):303; al-Jazā'irī 1998, v.2:144; Ibn al-Jawzī 1987, v.5:365; al-Baghawī 2002, v.4:358)

Ibn 'Āshūr and Quṭb argue that its Barakah lies in the fact that God gave it Barakah when it was being revealed, and He put Barakah in it wherever it is. This can be manifested in the fact that the number of pages in the Qur'an is small compared to the massive encyclopaedias written by humans, but every verse uses a most excellent combination of words, making the Qur'an easy to read and memorise. Moreover, every verse has guidance, wisdom, signs and much more, which bigger books lack, since it would be impossible for a human to put so much into a relatively small book, even one double or triple the size of the Qur'an. Also its Barakah lies in its way of directing its words to all humanity, in a direct and kind way, and covering every small detail (Quṭb 1996, v.2:1147; Ibn 'Āshūr nd: 6/155). Al-Rāzī argues along some of the points, saying that every verse in the Qur'an has Barakah in it since it either brings glad tidings and commands good, or brings warnings and forbids evil (al-Rāzī 1990, v.7(13):66). Ibn 'Āshūr adds that the Barakah of the Qur'an lies in its words, and God blesses the reciter of its words in this life and the hereafter (Ibn 'Āshūr nd: 6/155), since reciting the Qur'an removes sins, cures ills, and drives Satan from a house when recited in it (Al-Samarqandī 1997, v.1:486, 513; v.2:429; v.3:158).

Al-Rāzī says that its Barakah is that the text of the Qur'an has remained unchanged unlike other books (al-Rāzī 1990, v.7(14):5; al-Naysabūrī 1996, v.3:190). He also adds, along with other exegetists, that the Barakah in the Qur'an is the knowledge which can be divided into two categories: theoretical and practical. The theoretical is the most honourable, as this is knowing Allah's names, attributes, actions and rulings, and there is no other book that explains this in such a perfect way. As for the practical side, this involves physical and spiritual actions. Also one Barakah in the Qur'an said to have been experienced by al-Rāzī and others, when working in the sciences of the Qur'an, was extreme happiness in their religion and life; they had not experienced this in any

other fields of knowledge (al-Rāzī v.7(13):66; al-Naysabūrī 1996, v.3:120; al-Alūsī 1994, v.4(7):209,303). Furthermore, al-Biqā'ī says that its Barakah lies in the fact no one can deny its miraculous nature (al-Biqā'ī 1995, v.2:673).

Ibn 'Aṭīyah adds that Barakah is a description of what there is in the Qur'an – from the expansion of its good, removing the rulings of *jāhiliyyah* (the stage before Islam), uniting the Arabs, to the many triumphs that came about because of it (Ibn 'Aṭīyah 2001, v.2:365; al-Tha'ālibī nd: 6/92). Furthermore, the promises in it will happen as decreed by God without any change (Al-Biqā'ī 1995, v.2:747). One of these is inheriting Paradise and being saved from hellfire (Ibn 'Aṭīyah 2001, v.4:502).

Finally it can be said that the Barakah of the Qur'an, from these arguments, is infinite; only a few of its manifestations are known and named, and these can be summarised in that the Qur'an is guidance to all humans, is a cure for believers, and reward is obtained for the recitation of its text. This is in addition to its miraculous nature, both from the linguistic and the scientific point of views.

### Barakah bestowed in a "point in time"

Barakah may also be referred to a specific point in time, as is the case in the night in which the Qur'an was revealed:

1. We sent it (the Qur'an) down in a **night of Barakah**: for We are constantly giving warning. (Qur'an 44:3)

This refers to the time the Qur'an was revealed all at once from the Preserved Tablet (*Al-Lawḥ al-Mahfūẓ*) to the House of Might (*Bayt al-ʿIzzah*) in the lower sky, in the Night of Al-Qadr (*Laylat al-Qadr*) during the Month of Ramadan<sup>5</sup> (Qur'an 2:185), as is argued by Ibn 'Abbās and others (al-Qurtubī 1998, v.8: 117, al-Rāzī 1990, v.14(27):203-4; al-Samarqandī 1997, v.3:254; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.4: 117,455). Some of the Barakah in this night is explained in other verses in the Qur'an, which gives a measurable extent of its Barakah. One verse states that this night is better than a thousand months, equivalent to 83.3 years, thus the reward of worship on this night is multiplied 30,000 times. This means that a person would get more reward of worship in a single night than in his whole life's worship. Also forgiveness of all previous sins can be attained in this night, as is stated by the Prophet: "Whoever stands (in

<sup>5</sup> Some scholars argue this night is in the middle of Sha'bān (8<sup>th</sup> month in the Muslim calendar), but this is based on a weak narration from 'Ikrimah.



prayer) during the Night of *al-Qadr* with faith and expecting reward (from Allah), he will be forgiven for his previous sins" (al-Bukhārī 2000:355-6; Muslim 2000, v.1:310; al-Nasāʾī 2000, v.1:359; Ibn Ḥanbal, v.9:498; al-Tirmidhī 2000, v.1:192; Abū Dawūd 2000, v.1: 235). Another part of the Barakah of this night is that the angels descend in massive numbers including Gabriel (Qurʾan 97:4), due to its abundant blessings (al-Baydāwī, nd:44/3). Also there is peace in this night until dawn (Qurʾan 97:5), which means there is security in which Satan cannot do any evil or any harm. And matters are determined during this night for the coming year, such as dividing provisions and so on (Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.4:117). Some exegetists add that the Barakah in this night lies in the abundant rewards, goods and blessings that descend on people on that night for their worldly as well as their spiritual life (al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.8: 117; al-Zamakhsharī 1995, v.4:263-4). This is by their rewards multiplied, their supplications answered, and being granted mercy and forgiveness (Al-Alūsī 1994, v.13(25):110-13).

In short, what is taken from these arguments is that a night's Barakah extends itself thousands of times – not in a time frame but in other dimensions, making it equivalent to thousands of nights for those who utilise it.

### Barakah bestowed on a place

For places or locations there are nine verses relating Barakah with specific sites or areas. Five of them are related to Islamic Jerusalem and its surrounding areas, and these are discussed in the next section. The other four verses concern the following locations:

1. And He placed therein [on **earth**] mountains on top of it, and bestowed **Barakah** therein... (Qurʾan 41:10)
2. And **say** [Noah]: "My Lord! Land me in a **Mubarak landing-place**..." (Qurʾan 23:29)
3. But when he came to the (Fire), a voice was heard from the right bank of the valley, from a tree in the **Mubarak ground**: "O Musa..." (Qurʾan 28:30)
4. The first **House** (of worship) appointed for humans was that at *Bakkā*, full of **Barakah** and guidance for all beings (Qurʾan 3:96)

This Barakah in the first verse is general to the whole of the earth, by making the earth full of good things for its dwellers. One of the *barakāt* given to earth is the potential to be planted and bringing forth produce (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.11: 88; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.8: 306; al-Rāzī 1990, v.27: 89, 91; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.4: 79). There are other bounties on earth that cannot be listed because they are infinite, but they may be summarised in a saying of Ibn ʿAbbās as including "the creation of rivers, mountains,



trees, fruits, different kinds of animals and all other things which are needed" (Al-Rāzī 1990, v.27: 89).

As for the second and third verses, they refer to two areas that are *Mubārak*, but the exegetists do not explain what kind of Barakah it is. Also the Barakah's location in the second verse is unspecified, but it is known that the Ark of Noah landed on *al-Jūdī* (Qur'an 11:44). There are however many disagreements on where this mountain is. Most of the exegetists say it is a mountain in *al-Jazīra* (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.7: 47; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.5: 38; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.2: 383).<sup>6</sup> As for the location of the tree in the third verse, this is around Mount Sinai, but it is not very clear where it is exactly. Moreover the sites named are both *Mubārak* according to the Qur'an, one being the site where Moses first spoke to God, and the other possibly where the Ark landed by the command of God.

As for the Barakah in the *Ka'bah* in Makkah in the fourth verse, this Barakah is restricted to the *Ka'bah* only, as is understood from the verse. The Barakah in the *Ka'bah*, according to most exegetists, lies in the fact that worshipping there abolishes sins, as well as multiplying rewards for any good action. It is in addition a place of safety for everyone, even for animals (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.3: 357; al-Zamakhsharī 1995, v.1: 379; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.2: 131; Abū Ḥayān 2001, v.2, 546). Al-Rāzī (1990, v.8: 130) elaborates on this and divides the Barakah in the *Ka'bah* into two categories; the first is 'increase and expansion' and the second is 'remain and continuity'. For 'increase and expansion' he divides the Barakah into three types: the first is that for any good action done there the reward is multiplied, and sins are removed. The second is that all kinds of fruits are brought there as in the verse (28:57), and thirdly, the *Ka'bah* is in the centre of an unlimited number of circles of people praying towards it. As for the second category, the continuous Barakah, this is clear from the fact that the *Ka'bah* is never without people circling, prostrating, bowing or making *I'tikāf* (staying there). Then he says that since the earth is round, there is in every split second a group of people continuously somewhere on this earth praying in the direction of the *Ka'bah*, which acts as a spiritual hub for all believers. Finally, he adds that the continuation of the *Ka'bah* for thousands of years as a centre of worship is because of this continuous Barakah (al-Rāzī 1990: v.8: 130; al-Naysabūrī 1996, v.2: 213-4; al-Alūsī 1994, v.2: 222). Ibn 'Ashūr takes a different angle and states that the Barakah in the building comes from

<sup>6</sup> Moreover, *Mubārak* in this verse has also been interpreted as the process of landing rather than the landing site.

the fact that the stones of the building were put together by the hands of Abraham and Ishmael and later on Prophet Muhammad (Ibn ‘Āshūr, nd: 3/96) and, it could be argued, initially by Prophet Adam and the Angels.

As can be seen, the Barakah, which is in the building of the *Ka’bah*, and which could be thought to be relatively small for its size, in actual fact includes many branches of Barakah – nowhere else on earth can they be found all together as they are here.

The other five verses that refer to the Barakah in a place are, as mentioned earlier, related to *al-Arḍ al-Mubarakah* and are discussed in the next section in more detail.

In short, from the above Qur’anic examples a better understanding of the meaning of Barakah can be gained. Barakah, as has been seen, comes in many forms and meanings. In the first context, that is the Barakah of God, although it may not have similar connotations to the following categories of Barakah, it nevertheless carries many meanings that are reflected later, such as being everlasting.

For certain **beings**, mainly prophets, Barakah lies in the fact that their names are *everlasting*<sup>7</sup> as well as in the continuation of their message, and also in the *importance* they carried during their life-time and after their death. As for **objects**: these are mainly to do with material benefits that can be felt, such as the *crucial importance* of water which no one can live without, as well as its *long-lasting* effects and being the cause of *growth and expansion*. As for the category of **texts** or **statements**: these are also of *crucial importance* – as in the case of the Qur’an, its being *unchanging* and *everlasting*, as well as the *multiplication* of rewards for its recitation and implementation. As for **time**: a period such as the Night of al-*Qadr* is of *crucial importance*, in the sense of what has happened in it and what continues to happen in it, and also the *multiplication* of rewards. The Qur’an in this case gives us a measurable extent of the Barakah: it says that one night equals thirty thousand days. Finally, for **places** or locations, there is a general Barakah for the whole of the earth that is manifested in a *Physical Goodness* that exists in all parts of the world. Moreover, within the earth there are certain sites that have an increased intensity or a different dimension of Barakah, mainly spiritual but also physical. The *Ka’bah* in Makkah, for example, has *increase, expansion, crucial and everlasting importance* and *multiplication of rewards*. The understanding of the intensity of Barakah can be better described in horizontal and vertical dimensions. It becomes clear that the whole

<sup>7</sup> Italics of English terms for emphasis.

earth has some minimal level of Barakah, while specific sites have a more extensive density or a higher intensity of Barakah.

So it can be seen that a theme runs through most of the verses discussed showing that Barakah has many important meanings. These are: being very crucial and having great importance, as well as growing and expanding which brings on increase and multiplication; however, the source is unchanged but is everlasting. This can be applied to nearly all the examples mentioned. Although most things looked at are relatively small or short phases, or are just ordinary, the Barakah turns them into something extraordinary with incredible characteristics. Moreover, one could argue, since most of the Barakah is not visible, people can understand only small parts of the Barakah, namely, those which are named or identified. There could be much more that is unidentifiable or invisible to humans and has not been divinely stated, as is stressed by many exegetists.

### The Land of Barakah

As was mentioned earlier, reference to this specific land occurs five times in the Qur'an. It refers to the place as *al-Ard* (the land) three times (Qur'an 7:137, 21:71,81), *al-Qurā* (the towns) once (Qur'an 34:18), and then it continues with the wording "*al-lati baraknā fihā*" (which We placed Barakah in). Also one of the verses (Qur'an 17:1) refers to the centre of this area and speaks of the Barakah spreading out from al-Aqsa Mosque "*al-ladhi baraknā hawlah*". The verses are as follows:

1. Glory to Whom took His worshipper on a journey by night from *al-Masjid al-Harām* to *al-Masjid al-Aqsa* whose surrounding We blessed with Barakah... (Qur'an 17:1)
2. And to Solomon We gave the fiercely blowing wind, speeding to his command to the **land which We have given Barakah** ... (Qur'an 21:81)
3. And We saved him (Abraham) and Lot to the **land which We have given Barakah** for all beings (Qur'an 21:71)
4. And We granted inheritance to the people who were persecuted, the East and West of the **land which We have given Barakah** ... (Qur'an 7:137)
5. And We made between them and **the towns** which We placed **Barakah**, towns in prominent positions, and had appointed stages of journey in due proportion... (Qur'an 34:18)

From the previous section we can comprehend the Barakah in this land to be of crucial importance, as well as having "growth and expansion", "increase and multiplication", and being unchanged yet everlasting. The majority of exegetists divided the Barakah in this land into two categories, spiritual/religious and material/worldly. The spiritual or religious Barakah is represented as being the Land where most prophets

dwelt and spread their messages. As for the material or worldly Barakah, this is in its fertile grounds and its numerous varieties of fruits and plants, as well as its water, which gives both rich and poor a decent life.<sup>8</sup> Ibn 'Aṭīyah argues that it is in two categories, one in "this life" and the other "for the hereafter". The one in "this life" is what others have called the material or worldly Barakah, which he says is in the land which is the best over all others in the world: it has the tastiest water and abundant fruits and graces (Ibn 'Aṭīyah 2001, v.4:89).

Further to this, Barakah is not restricted to believers, but is, as verse (21:71) explains, for all nations, believers and disbelievers (al-Jazā'irī 1998, v.3:427). And the Barakah existed well before most of the prophets dwelled in that land. Most of the prophets in this land certainly came after Abraham, and mostly descended from his offspring. The same verse states that Abraham and Lot were saved to the land which has been blessed for all nations. Therefore the Barakah was there long before Abraham and was not placed in the land because of these Prophets dwelling in it. It seems that the Barakah was bestowed in that place long before, since the source of the Barakah, al-Aqsa Mosque, was also there well before Abraham.<sup>9</sup> What can be argued is that one of the manifestations of this Barakah is the dwelling of the Prophets in that land. Or that the Prophets were attracted to this land because it was full of Barakah and they chose to live there.

The Barakah that is regarded as the worldly Barakah is not just restricted to plants, fruits and water, but concerns much more. Such as its strategic geographical location, and its various material features which include several topographies and climates, in addition to various agricultural products (El-Awaisi 2005: 28), different weather patterns and so on.

As can be seen, this land carries crucial importance both for this life and the next. In this world it has been the centre of attention of many nations and has had consequent effects on the rest of the world (El-Awaisi 2005: 144). In the hereafter it is believed by Muslims to be the land of the rising and gathering for the Day of Judgment. As for

<sup>8</sup> Al-Ṭabarī (1999, v.8:17); al-Samarqandī (1997, v.2:300); al-Māwardī (nd: 21/81); al-Zamakhsharī (1995, v.2:623); Ibn al-Jawzī (1987, v.5:5); al-Rāzī (1990, v.10:117); al-Qurtubī (1994, v.5(9):193); al-Baydāwī (nd: 17/1); al-Nasafī (1996, v.2:443); al-Naysabūrī (1996, v.4:323); Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.6:7); al-Biqā'ī (1995, v.4:329); al-Alūsī (1994, v.8(15):14); al-Zuhaylī (2003, v.8:11); Quṭb (1996, v.4:2212); see also El-Awaisi (2005:28)

<sup>9</sup> This refers to the *Ḥadīth* concerning the building of al-Aqsa Mosque to be discussed later (chapter 3).

"growth and expansion" and "increase and multiplication", the exegetists have based most of their arguments around this from both a material and spiritual sense. However, this Barakah is not restricted to believers; it is unchanged for all who reside in it whether they are believers or not, but it is restricted to within a certain area that seems to be unchanged. Additionally, this Barakah although its extent is unchanged, is everlasting; as mentioned above, it could date back to the time of the building of al-Aqsa Mosque by Prophet Adam or even to the creation of this world.

From the previous discussion of the verses on the Barakah, we can get a better understanding of the Barakah in this land. Although it is a particular area of the world, it seems that its Barakah is multiplied thousands of times, as was the case in the night of power which though only a single night was equal to thirty thousand. Although the space is restricted, the Barakah continues to increase on a vertical dimension. Again, the physical Barakah is not restricted to believers, as has been the case with some kinds of Barakah. Moreover, there is the spiritual dimension for believers being in the land of the Prophets and in the multiplication of their good deeds.

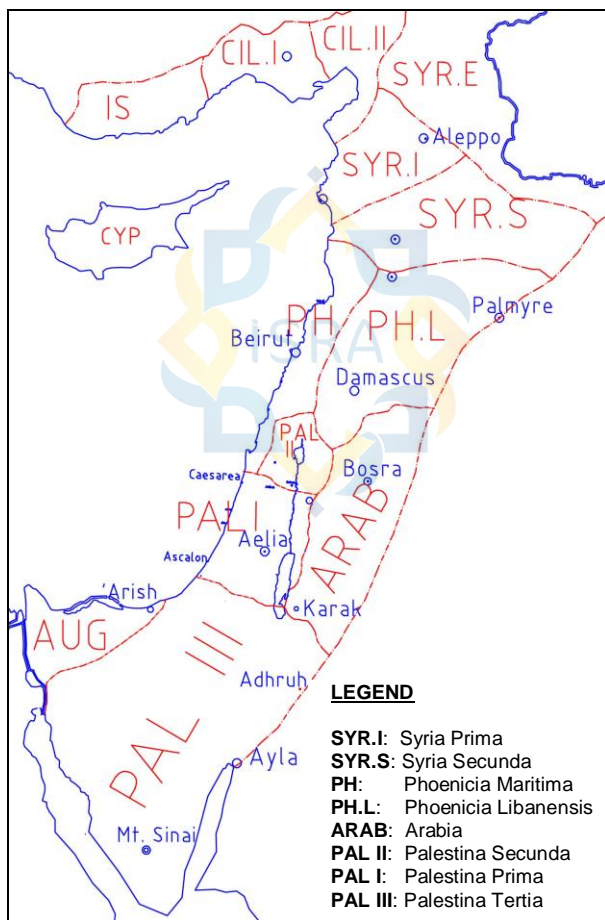
### **The Location and Extent of the Land of Barakah**

This section concentrates on understanding the location and the extent of the Land of Barakah from each of the five verses. It will be achieved by trying to subtract what is not part of this land, in order to arrive at an estimation of the extent of the area. Then each verse will be followed by discussing what exegetists have said of the location and extent in that particular verse. The verses could be organised in chronological order, that is, starting with Abraham, then going on to Solomon, and then Muhammad. But it is more useful to consider them by starting with the most general verse to give a general framework, then narrowing down the scope of the land from different directions, which will give a better understanding of its span. The framework is first established from the verse by defining the areas to be excluded, followed by a review of the exegetists' differing points of views regarding the extent of the area.

Before embarking on this, it is important to set in context a name that will be used very frequently – al-Sham (historical Syria)– and see its extent. This is necessary since the majority of exegetists argue that the Land of Barakah is al-Sham; it is important to see therefore just what al-Sham actually refers to.

### Extent of al-Sham

The boundaries of al-Sham did not remain constant throughout the Muslim period, especially from the north due to the varying political situation. This is why geographers in different eras have given slightly dissimilar accounts of the extent of this area. Before Muslims took over the region, it was administered by the Byzantines, who divided the area into many provinces, as shown below.



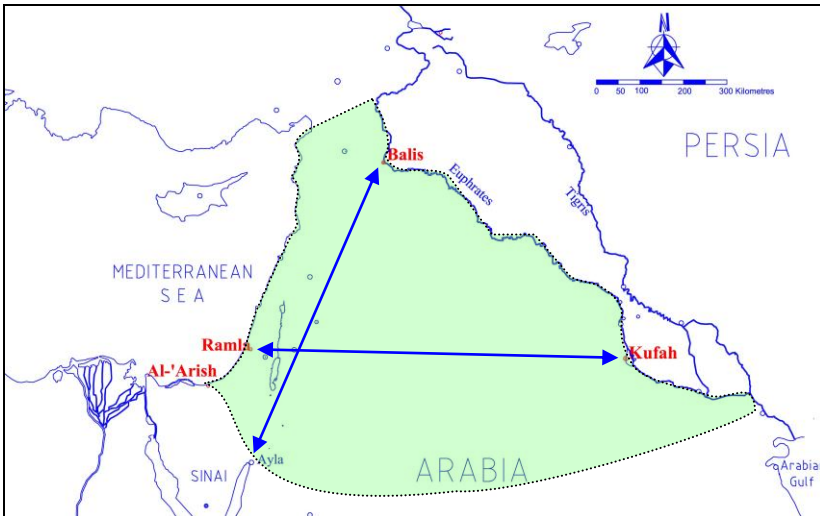
Map 1.1: Roman Provinces in al-Sham before the Muslim conquest  
After Seibt nd: 44

Nonetheless, the term al-Sham was used by the Arabs to refer generally to this area. Prophet Muhammad mentioned the name "al-Sham" many times and so did his contemporaries. There are many traditions from the early period that refer to al-Sham generally or to specific parts of it.

There is, however, no clear indication of the exact extent of the area of al-Sham that Prophet Muhammad and his contemporaries referred to by this term. So what exactly did al-Sham mean to Arabs around the first Muslim century? It could have easily referred to the Byzantine provinces from Syria Prima to Palastina Tertia or the areas of the later *ajand* (provinces) – or maybe something different again.

Moreover, none of the accounts gives an explicit reference to its extent; only one narration from the first Muslim century refers to the general extent by specifying four limits. It is narrated that a follower asked one of the Prophet's companions about the extent of the Barakah in al-Sham, and he replied that its limits are al-‘Arish (on the Mediterranean Sea) on one side, al-Thaniyah (east of Damascus) on the other, the river Euphrates on the third, and the Grave of Hud on the fourth (Ibn ‘Asākir 1995, v.1:196).

Most of the other traditions refer generally to the area from al-‘Arish to the Euphrates. Other narrations name some sites; one states it is from Balis (on the northern part of the Euphrates) to al-‘Arish (Ibn ‘Asākir 1995, v.1:196). This has been taken by some to refer to the area across the whole of the Euphrates as was mentioned by Ibn al-Faḳīh (d.291AH/ 904CE), who states that some say that al-Sham is from Kufa to Ramla and from Balis to Ayla (Ibn al-Faḳīh 1885:92). Which thus takes it across most of the Euphrates, all the way down to the Arabian Gulf and across to the Mediterranean Sea, down to al-‘Arish as shown below.



Map 1.2: perceived extent of al-Sham from some early accounts

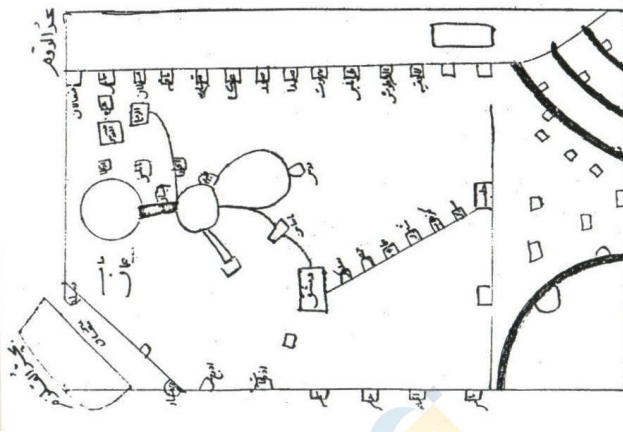


Since there are no full accounts of the extent of al-Sham in early Arab sources, the use of sources mentioning the extent in later Muslim periods may still help to give a more accurate picture. Although these may not give a precise picture of al-Sham referred to at the time of the Prophet, together with the short references from the first Muslim century they will give a more precise picture of its extent at the time of Prophet Muhammad.

Some of the early Muslim geographers talked of a more precise extent of al-Sham. Al-Iṣṭakhrī (d.~346 AH/957CE) was probably one of the first to do so. He states that to the west is the Mediterranean Sea, and to the east is the desert from Ayla (Aqaba) to Euphrates. The southern boundaries of Roman (Byzantine) lands are to the north and to the south are Egypt and the wilderness of Sinai. Many picture this as being the same as the above map (1.2), namely extending across most of the area between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean Sea. This seems to have been an exaggeration of al-Sham's extent, since the map of al-Iṣṭakhrī shows this to be inaccurate. The only place that is adjacent to the Euphrates is Balis in the north, and at no other place does the Euphrates meet up with the eastern extent of al-Sham. This is clearly depicted in the map of al-Iṣṭakhrī (map 1.3). This was also the same extent given by Ibn Ḥawqal (d.368/979CE) and his map (1.4) is very similar to that of al-Iṣṭakhrī.

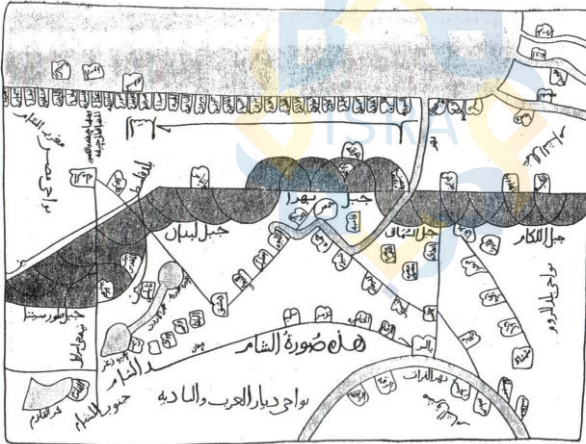
Al-Maqdisī (d.390AH/1000CE) talks of the exaggeration of the extent to the east in detail and states that it is baseless. This is because there is no evidence to include areas on the periphery of al-Sham as being part of it, and al-Maqdisī states whosoever claims otherwise must produce evidence for this claim. He further adds that the extent towards the east is exaggerated by the people of Iraq who call everything beyond the Euphrates al-Sham to make it easier to understand. Al-Maqdisī replies that this claim is not true, except in the case of the district of Qinisrīn which lies at the northern end of the River Euphrates; this would include the town of Balis. The rest he adds is part of the Arabian Desert (al-Maqdisī 1906: 152). Thus between al-Sham and Iraq lies the Arabian Desert south of Qinisrīn. Al-Maqdisī has also drawn a map of al-Sham, which is very similar to those of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal; all three are shown next.





Map 1.5: al-Maqdisi's map of al-Sham

Source: al-Muqaddasi 2001:131



Map 1.4: Ibn Hawqal's map of al-Sham

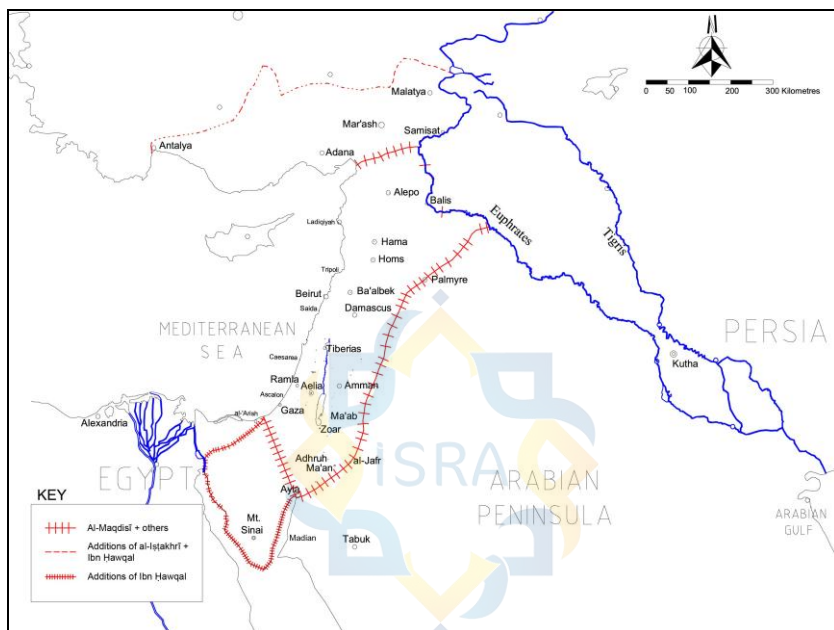
Source: Ibn Hawqal 1938: 167



Map 1.3: al-Iṣṭakhri's map of al-Sham

Source: Nebenzahl 1986:29

These maps though quite accurate are however very difficult to read since their orientations are different from today's standard maps. Below is an equivalent modern version of these maps.



Map 1.6: equivalent of al-Iṣṭakhrī's, Ibn Ḥawqal's and al-Maqdisī's maps

Initially, the maps seemed very similar, but slight differences soon became apparent especially in the north and south. However, in al-Maqdisī's description of al-Sham he includes some of the areas to the north detailed in the maps of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal, such as Adana, Samisat, Mar'ash and many others (al-Maqdisī 1906:54, 154). Not only this, he includes other areas to the south not on the map such as the towns of Tabuk and Madian as part of one of the provinces of al-Sham (al-Maqdisī 1906: 54, 155). These additions could be considered as the political administrative extensions to the area of al-Sham, sometimes part of it and at other times not. This was the case for the northern parts which were not initially part of al-Sham at the time of the Caliph 'Umar but were added later on by Yazīd Ibn Mu'awiyah (Ibn Rustah 1892: 107). Other additions were made in the sixth century (Ibn Ḥawqal 1938:165). As for the areas to the south beyond Ayla, namely Tabuk and Madian, although not on the maps drawn by the three geographers they were considered by al-Maqdisī, in two citations, to be part of al-Sham.

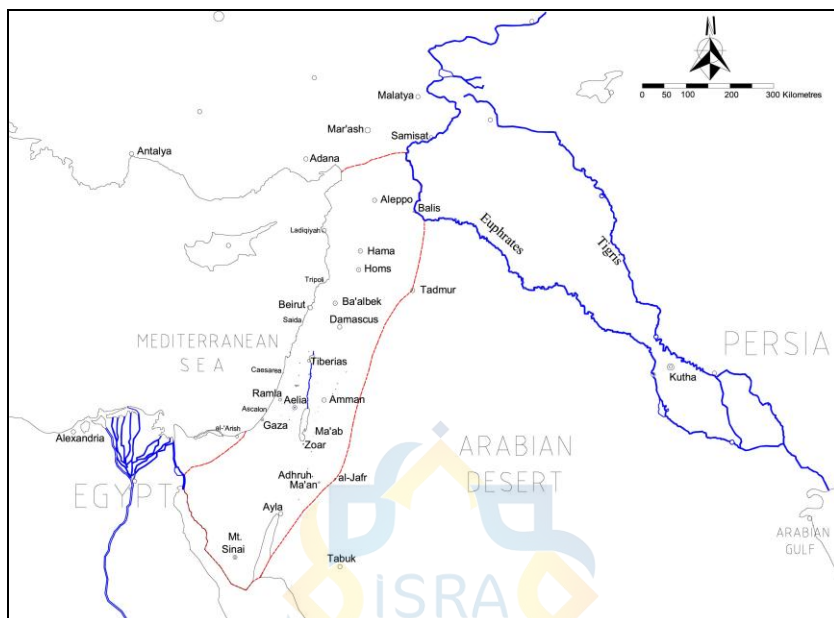
However, the other two geographers consider it to be part of Arabia and add that it is four stages<sup>10</sup> away from al-Sham (al-Iṣṭakhrī 1927:20; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938:165). It is known, however, that when Prophet Muhammad was on the quest to al-Sham the furthest he got was Tabuk, which in one narration is placed on the borders with al-Sham. It is narrated that Prophet Muhammad stood on a hill while in Tabuk and looked north and said that beyond there is Sham (Ibn ‘Asākir 1995, v.1:196). Thus the southern limits of al-Sham would be taken as just before Tabuk.

As for the southern western limit, some accounts refer to al-‘Arish as being the start of Egypt and the end of al-Sham from this side. This is reinforced by a narration during the reign of ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who sent ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Āṣ to conquer it. When ‘Amr inquired where he was, he was told he was in al-‘Arish in the land of Egypt. Thus everything west of al-‘Arish could be considered to be outside al-Sham. However, the area south of al-‘Arish was not part of Egypt at the time of the Byzantines but was part of Palastina Terita. Also during the early Muslim period some accounts from the likes of Ibn ‘Abbās make it clear that Mount Sinai is in fact part of al-Sham (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.9:207-al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.6:107).

These would confirm the limits of al-Sham in the early period on the southern and western sides. The eastern side seems to have been the desert, as can be gathered from the Muslim division of the provinces of al-Sham. The only unclear limit that is still vague is the northern one, and it seems that this was changeable according to the administrative reign and extent of power. Thus it would be taken up to the district of Qinisrīn and no further as the other areas are negotiable and there is no clear reference as to whether or not to include them from the first Muslim century. When the term al-Sham is used therefore the following extent is meant (Map 1.7).

In short, we are talking of an area of al-Sham that would have extended in length from Aleppo and its district touching on the Euphrates on the north, and Ayla to the south. In breadth it would have extended from Tadmur in the east alongside the desert to the Mediterranean Sea to the west from Antioch to just before al-‘Arish. Thus, more or less, we are talking of the left half of the Fertile Crescent in addition to Sinai.

<sup>10</sup> For the equivalent see Appendix II



Map 1.7: The most probable extent of the region of al-Sham in the early Muslim period

Now that the probable extent of al-Sham has been established, it is time to examine the five Qur'anic verses on the Land of Barakah and determine *its* extent, as well as its resemblance to the region of al-Sham.

### Barakah Around

The first Qur'anic verse concerns the Night Journey of Prophet Muhammad from Makkah to Bayt al-Maqdis. The verse refers to the destination which is al-Aqsa Mosque as the centre source of Barakah for the surrounding area.

﴿سُبْحَانَ الَّذِي أَسْرَى بِعَبْدِهِ لَيْلًا مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ الْأَقْصَى الَّذِي بَارَكْنَا حَوْلَهُ...﴾

Glory to Whom took His worshipper on a journey by night from al-Masjid al-Harām to al-Masjid al-Aqsa whose surrounding We blessed with Barakah (al-ladhi baraknā ḥawlah)... (Qur'an 17:1)

Although the verse does not refer to al-Aqsa Mosque as *mubarak*, it refers to its surroundings as such. It was not described as *mubarak* but rather as the source of the Barakah being radiated to the surrounding area. The verse also gives an indirect reference to the fact that al-Aqsa was a Mosque and *mubarak* long before Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey – as it does not tie in the Barakah with the visit of the Prophet but rather is a general statement about this place. Indeed this Barakah –

as will be discussed later— existed even before the time of Prophet Abraham in the area and may possibly have been bestowed on the mosque from the foundations of the initial construction. This is so forty years after the first construction of the *Ka'bah*, as is clear from the Ḥadīth of Abū Dhar.<sup>11</sup>

The verse does not specify the span of the Barakah to the surrounding area, as it does not give any territorial extent. Nevertheless the verse makes a very crucial point: it specifies al-Aqsa Mosque as the centre or nucleus of the surrounding area which is *mubārak*. This helps enormously in drawing out the extent of this land, with a known centre. However, since the verse does not specify the extent of the land it leaves this open. Another similar verse in the Qur'an uses the same etymology of the word *ḥamlab*: 'And this is a Book We have sent down *Mubārak*, confirming what came before it, so that you may warn the Mother of Cities (Makkah) and those *ḥawlahā* (around it)...' (Qur'an 6:92; there is also a nearly identical verse in 42:7.) In this context, according to the majority of exegetists, the word *ḥawlahā* means the whole earth.<sup>12</sup>

In other verses that have the root of the word *ḥamlab*, it means only close surroundings as in "...If you had been severe or harsh-hearted, they would have scattered from *ḥamlak* (around you)..." (Qur'an 3:159) and other verses: 2:17; 4:27; 9:101,120; 26:25,34; 27:8. While others could mean surroundings that are faraway, as is very clear in "We destroyed the Cities *ḥamlakum* (round about you)..." (Qur'an 46:27) meaning cities as far as Syria and Yemen. Further examples can be found in other verses such as: 19:68; 29:67; 39:75; 40:7.

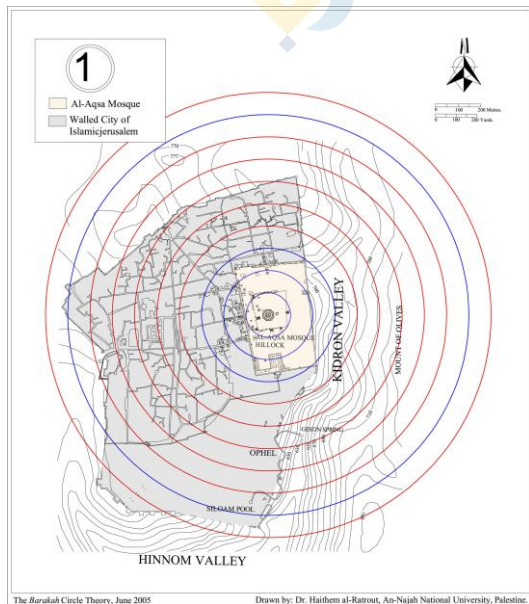
Therefore the root of the word *ḥaml* in the Qur'anic verses could cover from very close surroundings to very far ones. Generally, though, when it is talking about a specific geographical location on earth, it means that it covers a substantial area around the location mentioned. This brings in the argument that the radiations of this Barakah could extend to cover

<sup>11</sup> It is narrated that Abū Dhar asked the Prophet which mosque was first built on this earth. He replied: *al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*; then he asked what was the second, he replied: *al-Masjid al-Aqsa*. He further asked how long was between them and the Prophet replied: forty years (see chapter 3).

<sup>12</sup> Al-Ṭabarī (1999, v.5:267); al-Qurṭubī 1998 v.4:35, 8:(16):7; al-Rāzī (1990, v.7(13):67); Ibn Kathīr (1997, v.2:140, v.4:91); Ibn 'Aṭīyah (2001, v.2:322); Ibn al-Jawzī (1987, v.3:85); Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.4:183); al-Alūsī (1994, v.4(7):210); al-Shawkānī (2000:538, 1582); al-Baghawī (2002, v.2:232); al-Naysabūrī (1996, v.3:132); al-Biqā'ī (1995, v.2:673); al-Ḥuwārī (1990, v.1:543); Quṭb (1996, v.2:1148). In addition a modern scholar argues this is scientifically right, as Makkah geographically sits in the centre of the world, the whole world surrounds it (Kamal al-Dīn 1984: 389-404).

a large area of the world around al-Aqsa Mosque. Or even to cover the entire world, as can be seen in the verse about Makkah that was taken to mean the world.

The exegetists have concentrated their attention in interpreting this verse mainly at the story of the Night Journey through the centre of Barakah and have discussed little about the extent of the Barakah around al-Aqsa Mosque. Some left this discussion to the other verses, while others have briefly mentioned that it is the area of al-Sham (historical Syria) (al-Samarqandī 1997, v.2:300; al-Māwardī nd. 17/1; Ibn ‘Aṭīyah 2001, v.3:436; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.5(10):192; Abū Ḥayān 2001, v.6:7). In a new understanding of the verse, Abd al-Fattah El-Awaisi argues in his Circle Theory that the Barakah is around al-Aqsa Mosque in circles, and extends to reach all parts of the world although not everywhere on the same scale. Nevertheless, the strength of the radiation decreases the further away one is from the epicentre (El-Awaisi 2005: 33). He further argues that, if al-Sham is taken as part of this circle, parts of Egypt can be found in another quadrant of that circle; thus both have similar levels of Barakah (2005:35). This could be supported by the understanding that *ḥamlah* in the verses about Makkah was taken to be the whole world. Therefore, from within al-Aqsa Mosque the centre of these circles would be the top of the Rock, as can be seen in map 1.8 below.



Map 1.8: Top elevation of al-Aqsa Mosque, with circles starting from its centre  
From: El-Awaisi 2005:34



The author, however, does not fully agree that the circles extend to cover the whole world, but feels that what is meant is a substantial area. This can be argued on the basis of the majority of the verses that include the word root *ḥawlah*, not meaning the whole world. This could also be the case of the Land of Barakah, namely that it might radiate around al-Aqsa Mosque to a maximum limit, but not beyond that. This is clear from the other four verses –to follow– which narrow the extent of the Land of Barakah to a relatively small area inside the world. Nevertheless what *can* be said is that, though this land is restricted by certain boundaries, the radiations of its Barakah sourcing from al-Aqsa Mosque could possibly extend to other parts of the world, without making them part of this land. This is because the radiation would not be the same strength, but would be of a lower frequency the further away they were.

### The travelling of Solomon

The second verse comes to limit and narrow down the extent of the Land of Barakah to a specific land, rather than to encompass the whole world.

﴿وَلِسُلَيْمَانَ الرِّيحَ عَاصِفَةً تَجْرِي بِأَمْرِ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ الَّتِي بَارَكْنَا فِيهَا ...﴾

And to Solomon We gave the fiercely blowing wind, speeding to his command to the **land which We have given Barakah** (*al-Ard al-latī baraknā fihā*) ... (Qur'an 21:81)

The verse tells of Prophet Solomon travelling using the wind, from different parts of the earth – which are not specified– to another specified part which is the Land of Barakah. However, what can be understood from this verse is that Solomon is travelling *to* a specific area on this earth that is *mubarak*; subsequently, by default, the other parts of the world are not *mubarak*. It is historically believed that the base of Prophet Solomon's Kingdom was within al-Sham, and it had relations and connections with other parts of the world such as Yemen. It is, though, unknown if they were part of his kingdom. Even if his kingdom extended to these areas, he would have travelled from one part of the world to another that is *mubarak* as is specified by the verse. Nevertheless, this verse most importantly narrows down the understanding of the Land of Barakah as not covering the whole world, but a much smaller and specified area.

As for the exegetists, the majority agree that the land specified in the verse is the area of al-Sham or within it.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, it is now known that Prophet Solomon's final destination is always his base in al-Sham. As to where he is departing from, this is not clear. However, the Qur'an mentions the distance of the travelling; it says that it covers the journey of one month by road but is travelled in one morning or an afternoon by Solomon using the wind:

﴿وَلِسُلَيْمَانَ الرِّيحَ غَدُوَهَا شَهْرًا وَزَوَاجُهَا شَهْرًا...﴾

And We gave Solomon power over the wind, a month's journey in the morning and a month in the afternoon... (Qur'an 34:12).

As to where exactly he had set out from, there are many narrations. Al-Ṭabarī mentions names of cities such as *Iṣṭakhr* (Persepolis) over 1500km away (see map 1.9) and Kabul over 3000km away in historical Persia (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.9:54, v.10:353; al-Rāzī 1990, v.11(22):174; al-Naysabūrī 1996, v.5:38-9; Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.6:309), while others give more names (al-Baghawī 2002, v.4:38; Itfīsh nd:21/81). None of these sites, however, can be proved authentic, as most of them are based on biblical narrations, human fantasies and imaginations (Qutb 1996, v.4:2391). In actual fact, the Qur'an tells us that where Prophet Solomon sets out from could be from anywhere within the radius – from his base – of an area which would normally take thirty days.

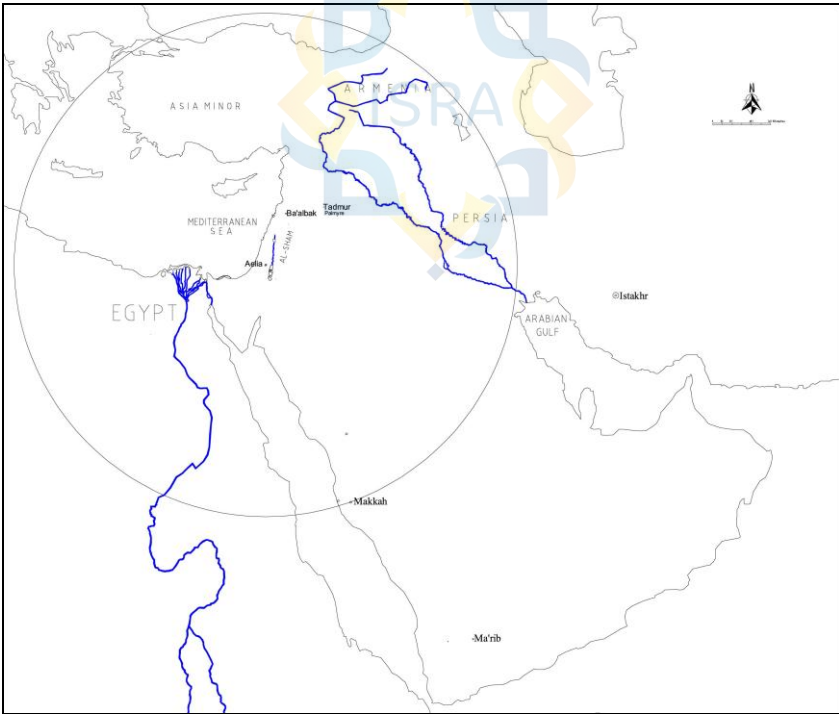
Therefore, although this verse (Qur'an 34:12) does not specify the exact extent of this land, it does give a rough approximation of the areas travelled to which are not part of it. This is a thirty-day travel radius from the area of al-Sham. Which means that everything beyond a thirty-day travel by road would certainly not be part of the Land of Barakah. The centre of the radius should be his base, but no one is quite sure where this was. Some say it was in the City of IslamicJerusalem (Ibn Kathīr 1997b, v.1(2):19-22; Abū Ḥayān 2001, v.6:309). Others say it was the city of *Ba'labak* (al-Ṭabaraṣī nd: 21/81) and yet others the ancient city of *Tadmur* (Ibn Kathīr 1997b, v.1(2):22; Itfīsh nd: 21/81). The city of IslamicJerusalem would be taken to be the centre as it occupies a central location in al-Sham, and in some authentic *Aḥādīth* it is the only place in al-Sham named in relation to Prophet Solomon (chapter 3). However, the Land of Barakah cannot be the whole area within this radius; since

<sup>13</sup> Al-Ṭabarī (1999, v.9:54); al-Māwardī (nd: 21/81); al-Baghawī (2002, v.4:38); Ibn 'Atīyah (2001, v.4:93); Ibn al-Jawzī (1987, v.5:374); al-Rāzī (1990, v.11(22):174); al-Qurṭubī (1998, v.6:228); al-Naysabūrī (1996, v.5:39); Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.6:309); Ibn Kathīr (1997, v.3:167); Qutb (1996, v.4:2391).



we do not yet know its extent we will just take the radius from its centre and not state its limits.

What also needs to be identified is the equivalent to thirty days' travel in our measurement system today. This will allow us to identify the areas beyond the thirty days road travel and exclude them from the Land of Barakah. From calculation, one day's travel would be equal to twenty-four Arab miles and this is approximately equal to fifty kilometres (Appendix II). Therefore thirty days' travel is equal to 1500km. This is approximately the distance from the city of Bayt al-Maqdis to the city of Makkah. Which can be further supported by the fact that Arabs used to consider a one-way distance from Makkah to Aelia to be thirty days (Ibn Ishaq nd: 40R; al-Wāṣiṭī 1979:95; Ibn Sayid al-Nās nd:90; Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī 1994:267). The distance in a straight line (as the crow flies) is around 1230km and for the road route around 1600km.



Map 1.9: Circle showing an approximate extent of Prophet Solomon's one-stop journey using wind (i.e. 30 days' travel).

However, not everything within this radius is part of the Land of Barakah; most of the area at a great distance from the centre would most likely be outside it. Moreover, the maximum extent of this land might

only reach a third of this thirty-day radius and at most it might be just half. This is because the thirty-day radius is for the distance from this land to these areas. It is certain therefore that everything beyond this outer circle is unquestionably outside the Land of Barakah. So this land does not extend to cover the whole world; its maximum possible extension can cover only a relatively small area. It would not be possible for it to extend to cover the whole of the world, since there would then be no need to distinguish a Land of Barakah if lands around the world were the same.

### The migration of Abraham

The third verse tells of Abraham and Lot migrating to this land.

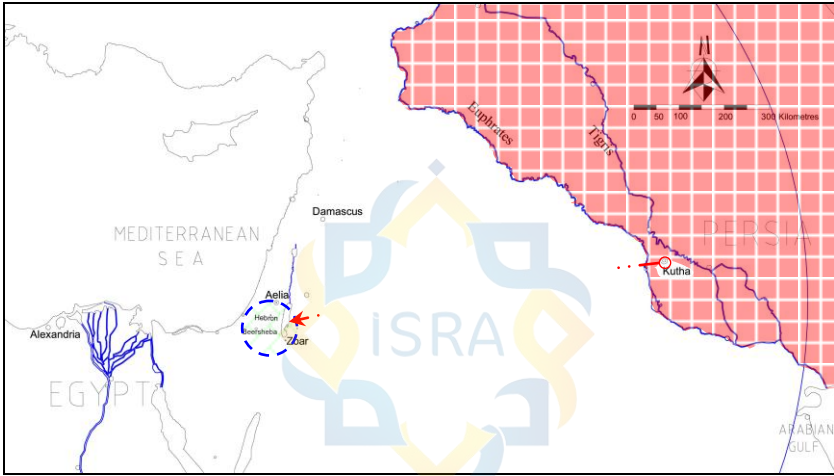
﴿وَنَجَّيْنَاهُ وَلُوطًا إِلَى الْأَرْضِ الَّتِي بَارَكْنَا فِيهَا لِلْعَالَمِينَ﴾

And We saved him (Abraham) and Lot to the **land which We have given Barakah** (*al-Arḍ al-lati baraknā fihā*) for all beings (Qur'an 21:71)

If the places of where they migrated *from* and *to* are established, subsequently the area they migrated *from* will be excluded, while the area they migrated *to* will be included. It is historically believed that Abraham was in what is known today as Iraq and according to Qur'anic exegetists, he migrated from a place called *Kutha* or *Kutharaba* (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.9:45; Ibn 'Aṭīyah 2001, v.4:90; Abū Ḥayān 2001, v.6:305; al-Tha'ālibī nd: 21/71; al-Biqā'ī 1995, v.5:97; al-Suyūṭī 2000, v.4:581) and not from Ur. This city is further north in Babylon, very well known amongst early Muslims, and today is close to al-Kufa in Iraq (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.4: 553-4; al-Bakrī 1998, v.2(4): 27-8; Ibn Manẓūr 1999, v.12: 182).

The verse clearly states that although both Prophets, Abraham and Lot, migrated to the Land of Barakah, subsequently they were not within its boundaries. Therefore, what can be surmised is that the land of Babylon and the land of *Kutha* and all areas in their vicinity, and all areas east of them, can be excluded from being part of the Land of Barakah. This would mean that, from the north-eastern side of the Land of Barakah, all the land east of the river Euphrates can be excluded from being part of this land, as can be seen in the map below. This is where Prophets Abraham and Lot departed from; as for their destination, it is known that they settled within parts of the regions known today as Palestine and Jordan. It is said that Prophet Abraham settled in a few of

its cities,<sup>14</sup> but that he finally settled and buried his wife in Hebron and was himself later buried there too (Ibn Taymiyah 1997, v.27:235). Prophet Lot, however, settled in the area south of the Dead Sea between today's Jordan and Palestine, as he was sent to its people who were later destroyed. Thus both Prophets were within parts of what is known today as Palestine and Jordan; this is illustrated in the small circle within the map below.



Map 1.10: Shaded area showing the area not part of the Land of Barakah from the north-east; circle showing the area where Abraham and Lot settled.

The exegetists unanimously agree that the migration was from Iraq, and some specifically mention *Kutha*. Subsequently, this excludes Iraq and areas east of al-Sham from being part of the Land of Barakah. This follows on to exclude areas within the thirty days' road travel radius mentioned in the previous verse, because the radius was for the Land of Barakah and a large undetermined area around it, which we are now reducing. This, however, does not mean that all the hazy area from the north-east has been eliminated, as there could still be more land west of the Euphrates which was not part of the Land of Barakah.

As for the destination of Prophet Abraham and Prophet Lot, the exegetists mostly agree that this was al-Sham (historical Syria).

<sup>14</sup> Al-Ṭabarī (1999, v.9:46); al-Māwardī (nd: 21/71); al-Baghawī (2002, v.4:35); al-Zamakhsharī (1995, v.3:123); Ibn 'Atīyah (2001, v.4:89-90); Ibn al-Jawzī (1987, v.5:368); al-Nasafī (1996, v.3:128); al-Naysabūrī (1996, v.5:34); Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.6:305); al-Tha'ālibī (nd: 21/71); al-Alūsī (1994, v.9(17):68); Itfīsh nd:21/71; al-Marāghī (nd, 6:53).

Nevertheless, some exegetists give other locations, south to Makkah and west to Egypt. Al-Ṭabarī, after mentioning the different opinions, supports the strongest of these, i.e. that the destination was within al-Sham, and asserts that there is a consensus amongst scholars on this matter. He refutes the other arguments on the grounds that although Abraham visited Makkah many times, these were short visits rather than his settling there or staying for long periods. Thus neither Abraham nor Lot made Makkah their home, but settled in the area of al-Sham (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.9:46). The same can also be said for Egypt; Abraham did not take Lot to Egypt – the accounts only state that Abraham accompanied his first wife on his visit there. From Muslim core sources it is evident that Abraham made Makkah the home of his second wife and first son, who settled there; he himself did not reside there for long (Qur'an 14:37).

From this it is clear that Abraham and Lot migrated to the Land of Barakah (*al-Arḍ al-Mubarakah*), namely to the region of Bayt al-Maqdis, where he settled in Hebron, south of the city of Bayt al-Maqdis. This drove some scholars to narrow down the Land of Barakah to be just the region of Bayt al-Maqdis or *al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah* (The Holy Land).<sup>15</sup> This could be because it is not possible that Abraham lived in every single part of al-Sham – from north to south – it had to be a smaller area. Nevertheless, as al-Ṭabarī concluded, the area that Prophets Abraham and Lot migrated to is within the area between the Euphrates and al-ʿArish. The author believes that the verse refers to the core of this land, and not its every corner.<sup>16</sup> It is stated in some of the Muslim sources that Abraham settled in a number of different cities, such as al-Sabaʿ, Hebron, etc. (al-Bagawī 2002, v.4:35; Abū Ḥayān 2001, v.6:305; al-Alūsī 1994, v.9(17):68; al-Marāghī nd, 6:53). However, all these areas are within a small part of al-Sham at its heart. A Ḥadīth reinforces the idea that it is a relatively small area. The Ḥadīth states that there will be one migration after another, the best being the ones to where Abraham migrated (Abū Dawūd 2000, v.1:235; Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.6:413). Therefore, it can be said that Prophets Abraham and Lot migrated to an area within the large region of al-Sham.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Samarqandī (1997, v.2:432); al-Māwardī (nd:21/71); al-Ṭabrarī (2005: 21/71); Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām (2000:339); al-Qurṭubī 1998, (v.6:212); Ibn Kathīr (1997, v.3:165); al-Biqāʿī (1995, v.5:97); al-Suyūṭī (2000, v.4:581); al-Shawkānī (2000:1139).

<sup>16</sup> It is like saying that a person has been to Scotland when he only visited for example Glasgow, and has never set foot in Edinburgh, Dundee, etc. Therefore, although it is true that Abraham migrated to al-Sham, in actual fact he was only within parts of it.

Nonetheless this verse helps us to narrow down the eastern limit of the Land of Barakah. Moreover, other areas **towards** the east could still not be a part of the Land of Barakah. Thus it could extend further into the desert west of the Euphrates.

### The Israelites' Inheritance

The fourth verse talks about the land which the Israelites inherited, after being persecuted in Egypt. It is believed that this was after they had moved out from Egypt to within the region of historical Syria.

﴿وَأَوْزَيْنَا الْقَوْمَ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا يُسْتَضْعَفُونَ مَشَارِقَ الْأَرْضِ وَمَغَارِبَهَا الَّتِي بَارَكْنَا فِيهَا ...﴾

And We granted inheritance to the people who were persecuted, the East and West of the **land which We have given Barakah** (*al-Ard ... al-lati baraknā fihā*).... (Qur'an 7:137)

It is well documented that, before the exodus, the capital of Egypt was in Memphis on the western bank of the Nile (Hassān 2000:204), and the Israelites were in and around that city. However after they had fled with the Prophet Moses they stayed no longer in Egypt; moving out towards the east. Had they inherited Egypt, they would have stayed there; there would have been no need for them to be chased out of it or have to cross the sea. Thus whatever they inherited did not include Egypt. Egypt, or at least the Nile and all the area west of it, can be excluded from the Land of Barakah ; this is shown in the map below (map 1.12). There is no historical or archaeological evidence that the Israelites ruled any part of Egypt after the Exodus with the Prophet Moses.



Map 1.11: Ancient sites in Egypt; the capital Memphis circled  
source: <http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/maps/1001memphis.html>



Map 1.12: Shaded area showing the area not part of al-Arḍ al-Mubarakah from the south-west

The exegetists are in much disagreement about what land the Israelites inherited; the majority believe it to be al-Sham (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.6:43-4; Ibn ‘Aṭīyah 2001, v.2:446; al-Bayḍāwī nd: 7/137; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.2:213; al-Tha‘ālībī nd: 7/137; al-Biqā‘ī 1995, v.3:92). While others include both al-Sham and Egypt (al-Zamakhsharī 1995, v.2143; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.4:245; al-Nasafī 1996, v.2:107, Abū Ḥayān 2001, v.4:375). Some exegetists claim it to be only Egypt. Egypt, however, is rejected by many scholars as being part of this land, on the ground that only al-Sham can be described as *mubarak* with its fertile grounds, trees, water, graces and benefits that are only available there (Ibn ‘Aṭīyah 2001, v.2:446; al-Rāzī 1990, v.7(14):181; al-Naysabūrī 1996, v.3:309).

Some exegetists narrow this land down to even a smaller area; they take it to be the Holy Land within al-Sham (al-Samarqandī 1997, v.1:559). Whereas other exegetists widen it to the whole world; most scholars of exegesis however reject this claim, as it is linguistically unfeasible and historically not viable (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.6:44; Ibn ‘Aṭīyah 2001, v.2:446; al-Alūsī 1994, v.5:36-7).

The author found that many of the exegetists do not give their opinion on this matter, only mentioning the various arguments (al-Māwardī nd:7/137; Ibn al-Jawzī 1987, v.3:253; Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām 2002:179; Iṭfīsh nd:7/137). He therefore came to the conclusion that this could most likely be the parts of al-Sham the Israelites inhabited after the Exodus. It is known historically that the Israelites after the Exodus were asked to enter the Holy Land, but when they rejected this command they were destined to the wilderness for forty years (Qur’an 5:26). They did not return to Egypt, nor did their offspring who were only able to conquer

parts of the Holy Land after the forty years' ban had passed; later, at the time of the Prophet Solomon, they spread out into other areas. Therefore the land mentioned in the verse which is *mubārak* that they were promised to inherit is within the area of al-Sham and not Egypt. Thus the area they came from – Egypt – would certainly be outside the Land of Barakah. What needs to be investigated however is the extent of Egypt during the time of the Prophet Moses. What is certain is that Memphis – 19km south of Cairo today – on the west bank of the Nile was the capital of Egypt at that time. Thus everything west of the Nile would be beyond the boundaries of the Land of Barakah from the south-western side, as is shown in map 1.12 above.

### The Ancient Journey

As for the fifth verse, it tells of an ancient journey on the route from Saba' in Yemen all the way up to al-Sham, along which people used to travel.

﴿وَجَعَلْنَا بَيْنَهُمْ وَبَيْنَ الْقُرَى الَّتِي بَارَكْنَا فِيهَا قُرًى ظَاهِرَةً وَقَدَرْنَا فِيهَا السَّيْرَ ...﴾

and We made between them and the towns which We placed Barakah (*al-Qurā al-latī baraknā fihā*), towns in prominent positions, and had appointed stages of journey in due proportion... (Qur'an 34:18)

The verse tells of their journey from the time they set off until the time they arrived at their destinations; they never ran out of supplies or provision, even though they carried hardly any. The reason for this was that there were villages (rest and provision stops) close together all along the route. Wherever they stopped they would find water, fruits and everything they needed to continue their journey. Because of these places the route was a very safe one to travel along by night or day.

The verse divides the route into three categories:

1. the land of the departure
2. the towns on the route (rest stations)
3. the land of destination

It is quite clear that the verse is referring to Yemen as the starting point. To be specific, it is referring to the period before the famous flood that destroyed most of historical Yemen, especially the ancient city of *Ma'rib* (Qur'an 34:15-17).

However, the verse most significantly – for our topic – explicitly refers to the towns at the end of the route to be *Mubārak*. It is not however clear

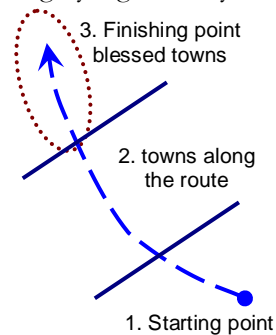
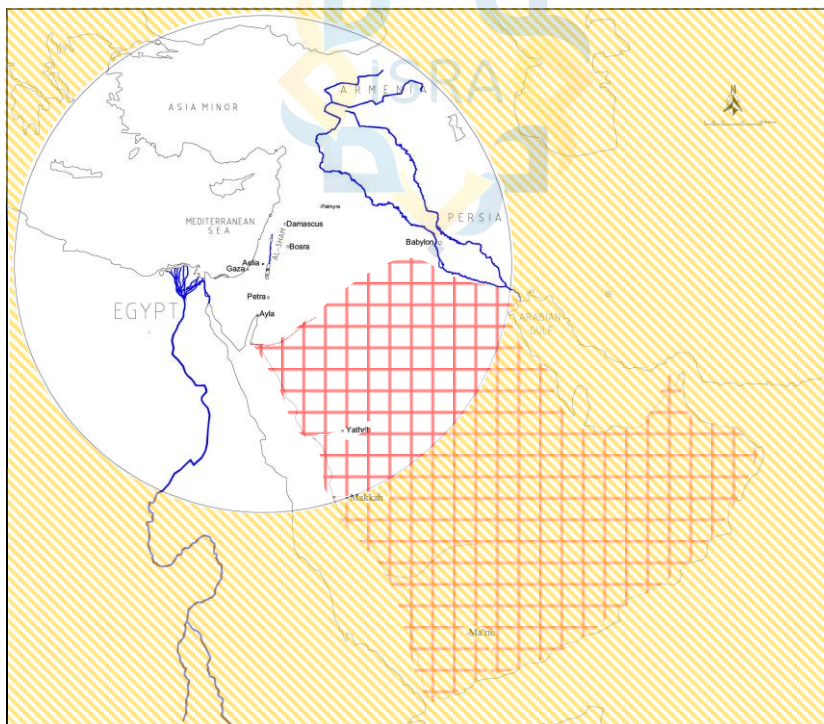


Figure 1.1: stages of travel route



where these towns which are *Mubarak* start and finish, since the verse does not specify this.

The exegetists unanimously agree that these blessed villages are within al-Sham. Al-Ṭabarī cites two arguments that suggest that the blessed villages refer to the whole of al-Sham, which he adopts, as do other exegetists (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.10:366; al-Zamakhsharī 1995, v.3:560; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.3:466; al-Rāzī 1990, v.13(25):218, al-Baydāwī nd:34/18). Al-Qurṭubī says that the blessed towns number 4700 (al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.7:260). However, the other argument is that these towns are of Bayt al-Maqdis and the Holy Land (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.10:366; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.3:466). The author agrees with both arguments, namely that it is the whole of the region of al-Sham which would unquestionably include Bayt al-Maqdis and the Holy Land. This is because the verse is referring to towns rather than areas, thus deserts and barren lands are not referred to; therefore the towns would start from around Ayla.



Map 1.13: Shaded area showing areas not part of the Land of Barakah from south

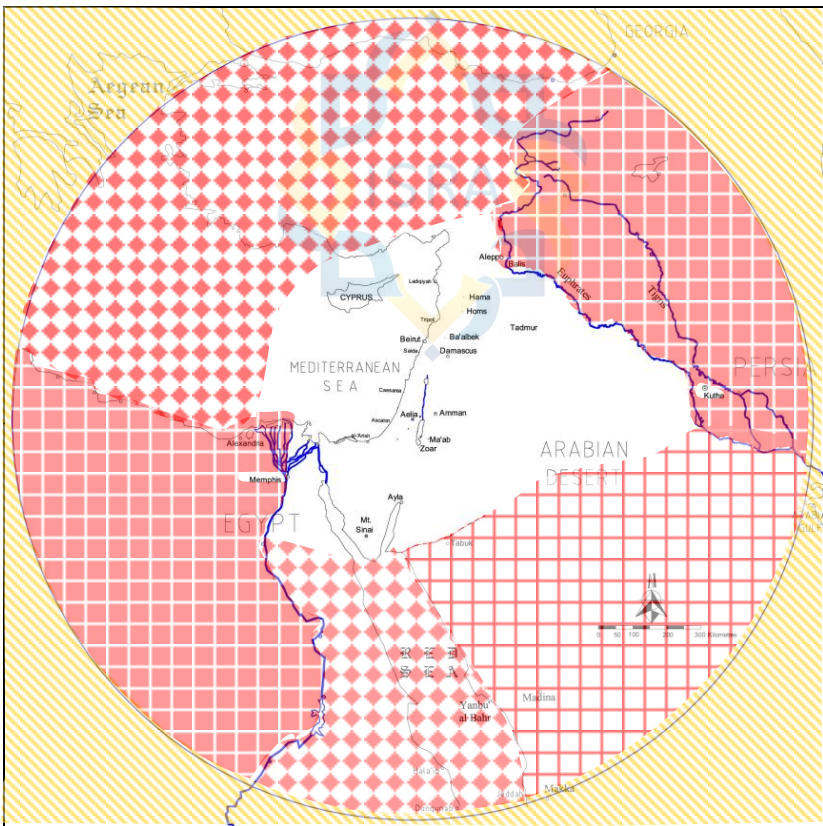
Locations to the south east can be excluded as above; this comprises all the areas south of al-Sham, which will include most of the Arabian Peninsula. As for where exactly al-Sham ends and Arabia starts, this is



taken around Tabuk as discussed earlier. And this is where the line in the map above is drawn, at approximately the area dividing al-Sham and Arabia.

## Discussion

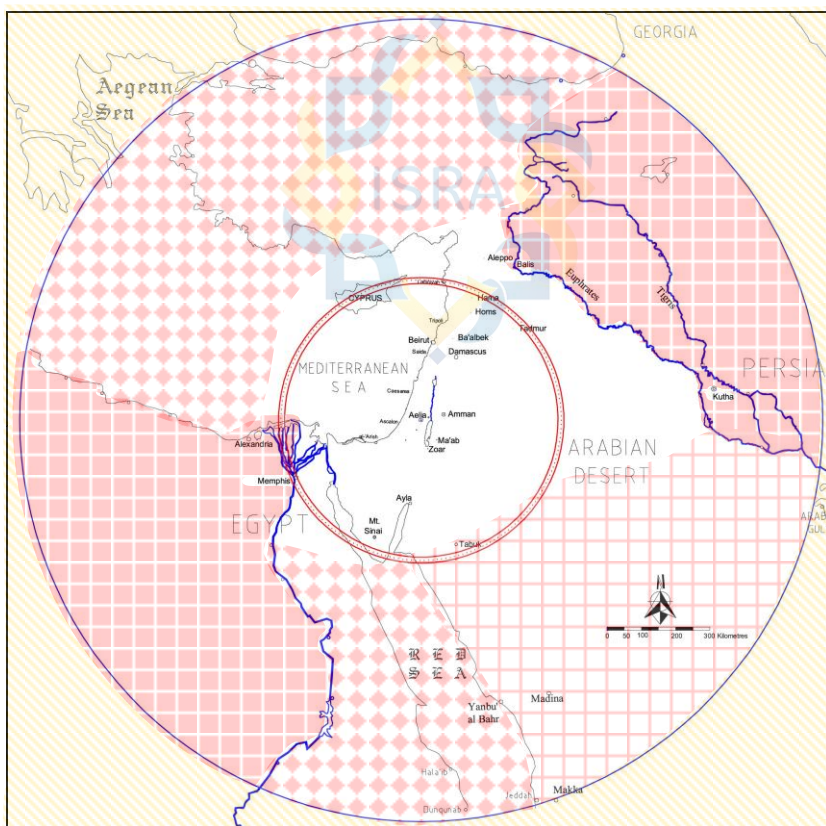
By looking into the verses an approximate understanding of the extent of the Land of Barakah can be arrived at. The methodology followed in these verses excludes what is definitely not part of this land. Also other parts which are in-between areas that have been excluded will also be removed, because the land would not extend past the excluded areas. Thus northern and southern areas in between the other areas are also eliminated as shown below.



Map 1.14: Extent of the Land of Barakah: shaded parts showing areas excluded from being part of this Land

The areas that are left that have not been excluded; these approximately cover most of al-Sham, and parts of Egypt and Arabia. Though this

narrows down the area, there are still many uncertainties of its exact extent. This leads back to the first verse referring to the centre and the area around it (*ḥawlah*),<sup>17</sup> and from the last four verses it was clear that *ḥawlah* in this instance (Qur'an 17:1) does not extend to the whole world, but only to a small part of it. Thus if *ḥawlah* is taken to be in circles, a circle could be drawn adjacent to the closest point. This would be either Iraq, Egypt or Arabia. The closest to al-Aqsa Mosque would be Arabia but, since the limit in this direction is vague, it would be more helpful to take Egypt as the main point of reference. The measurement would be taken from al-Aqsa to Memphis south of Cairo, which comes to around 425km. Drawing a circle with a radius of 425km from al-Aqsa Mosque produces the following map.



Map 1.15: Extent of the Land of Barakah: inner circles with Egypt on the tangent

<sup>17</sup> As mentioned earlier this might radiate to cover the whole world, but beyond a certain point it stops being the Land of Barakah.

This map lies more or less within the areas not excluded; the radius however may be slightly less than the outer circle to an inner one at around 400km, because there would not be a clear-cut line from what is excluded to what is part of it. Thus the line is not directly but rather a small distance after the ancient Egyptian capital.

These findings coincide with research done by Usamah Qanū‘, in which he uses the first verse in chapter 17 and calculates the extent of the Barakah around al-Aqsa using the geometrical values of the letters in the verse. He comes up with a very similar dimension, stating that the extent from his numerical calculation is 410km from al-Aqsa Mosque, a third of the way to Makkah (Qanū‘ 2005).

Another interpretation of the term *ḥamlah* gives a different extent. The term *ḥamlah* was referring to al-Aqsa Mosque, since al-Aqsa is not a circle, but rather an irregular rectangle. Thus *ḥamlah* might not be a full circle with a uniform radius but an oval shape as is shown below:

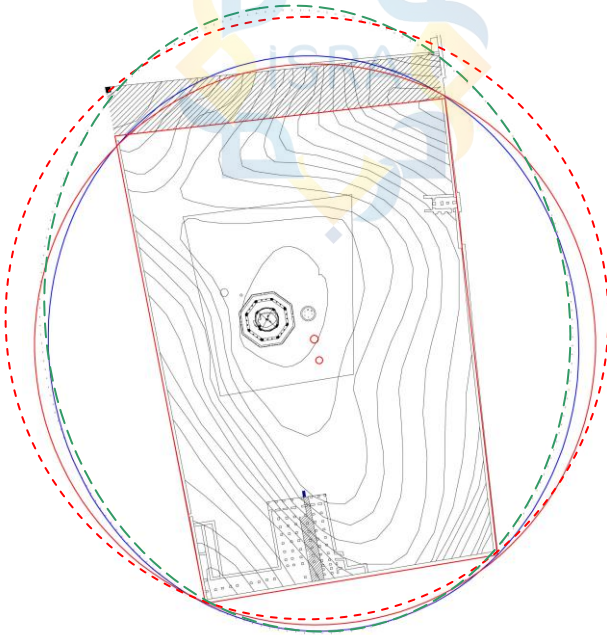
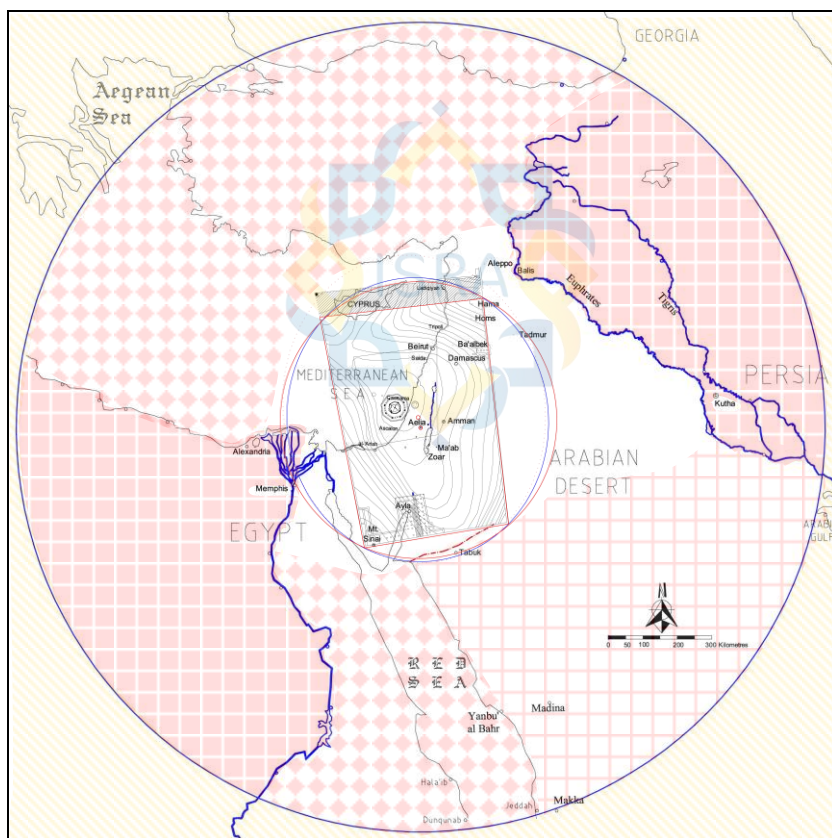


Figure 1.2: Top elevation of al-Aqsa Mosque

Source: (al-Ratrout 2004: 257); showing the oval shape and circular lines connecting the four sides of the Mosque (Top circle/oval) with Umayyad extension)

The difference is on the sides; however, overall the oval shape is still smaller. The figure above shows two sets of lines, one connecting to the current dimension of al-Aqsa Mosque (dashed lines), and the second to

the area prior to the Umayyad extension, and therefore the original extent of al-Aqsa Mosque (al-Ratrout 2004:254-60). This argument leads to another dimension of understanding the term *ḥawḻah*. This is scaled up and placed over the map above; however, the centre of al-Aqsa Mosque is needed for this action as it should be the centre of the scaling up from the Mosque. This was measured to be the area directly beneath the Dome of the Chain, and not the Dome of the Rock.<sup>18</sup> When scaled up over a map of the region up to the excluded zones, the following map was produced.



Map 1.16: Extent of the Land of Barakah: around al-Aqsa both circular and oval shape

<sup>18</sup> Measurement was taken from the centre of each wall before the northern Umayyad extension.

This gives a circular motion in the shape of an oval round al-Aqsa Mosque. Though sharing many similarities with the circle shape, it differs in some areas. The main differences are a reduction in the eastern (desert) and western (Egypt) directions and an addition in the northern direction. However, it still includes all the other areas.

### Conclusion

From the above, it can be seen that there has not been a clear definition of the limits of the Land of Barakah. The closest approximation historically has been to equating this land with the region of al-Sham. There appear to have been many reasons for this; one is the mixing of the traditions on the excellence of al-Sham with those of the Land of Barakah and presuming them to be the same entity. This would have been easily mixed up since Prophet Muhammad had prayed for the increase of the Barakah in al-Sham; this however does not necessarily have to refer to the Land of Barakah, as he also prayed for an increase in Barakah in the region of Yemen, in addition to Madinah for example. Thus people talked of the Barakah in al-Sham and mixed up the two and thought they must be the same. Another reason is measuring the known with what is *Mubarak*; many of the exegetists explained the Barakah in its physical manifestation, thus requiring the existence of a fertile ground, trees and plenty of water. Since this fitted perfectly and applied to al-Sham they restricted it to al-Sham rather than investigating its reaching the deserts and Egypt. Some exegetists excluded Egypt for this very reason (Ibn 'Atīyah 2001, v.2:446; al-Rāzī 1990, v.7(14):181; al-Naysabūrī 1996, v.3:309). This meant neglecting the understanding of *ḥawlah*, and restricting it to the areas that fitted the criteria; thus they were talking about the fertile areas across the left side of the Fertile Crescent. However this clearly contradicts the framework of Barakah, in that not all forms of Barakah are visible. Although the visible Barakah might give a good sense of the extent of Barakah, it cannot be the only source of determining what is and what is not *Mubarak*. In deserts and barren lands there might be Barakah; for instance one of the verses refers to the area God spoke to Moses in Sinai as *Mubarak*. Restricting the understanding of Barakah in this way could lead to giving an inaccurate depiction.

However there has been a very clear overlay between al-Sham and the Land of Barakah, most of the Land of Barakah lying within al-Sham. Moreover, as shown below, over half of the Land of Barakah lies outside al-Sham, either in the desert, or in parts of Egypt, or even in the





## THE EXTENT OF THE HOLY LAND

The terminology *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* (Holy Land) is mentioned once in the Qur'an. It is used in the address of Prophet Moses commanding the Israelites to enter into this land after they had left Egypt. Although its extent has been investigated by biblical scholars, not much attention has been paid by Muslim scholars. It is mentioned hundreds if not thousands of times, but mainly in passing or in connection with some incident. This chapter hopes to arrive at some idea of the Holy Land's extent. The first section goes into the etymology of the term *Muqadas* in the Qur'an to understand just what it means. Then from other references the author locates and works out the extent of this land. Then follows a discussion of the different exegeses concerning this, finally examining the various extents given by Muslim scholars and concluding with a depiction of the boundaries of the Holy Land.

### Muqadas in the Qur'an

The word *Muqadas* has the etymology *qadas*, which means holy, sacred or sanctified. Words from this root are mentioned in the Qur'an ten times, through five terms: *al-Qudus* (The Holy One) (Qur'an 59:23; 62:1), *Rūḥ al-Qudus* (the Holy Spirit) (Qur'an 2:87, 253; 5:110; 16:102), *nuqadisu lak* (Glorify and Purify) (Qur'an 2:30), *al-Wādī al-Muqadas* (the Holy Valley) (Qur'an 20:12; 79:16) and *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* (the Holy Land) (Qur'an 5:21). Each of these terms comes in a different context and can lead to a better understanding of the terminology *al-Ard al-Muqadasah*. There follows a brief look at the meaning of these other terminologies, concentrating on those with a geographical connotation.

### Al-Qudūs

This name appears twice in the Qur'an (Qur'an 59:23; 62:1); it is one of the ninety-nine beautiful names of God. *Qudūs* here means the *Mubarak* (blessed)<sup>1</sup> (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.12: 52, 88; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.4: 292; al-Zubaydī 1994, v.8: 408). Also it comes to mean 'the perfect Who is free from all defects' (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.12: 88; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.9(2): 41; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.4: 308; Ibn Manẓūr 1999, v.11: 60; al-Zubaydī 1994, v.8: 408). Therefore it can be said in English that *al-Qudūs* means the Holy One.

### Rūḥ al-Qudus

This term appears four times in the Qur'an (Qur'an 2:87, 253; 5:110; 16:102) and was used to address the Archangel Gabriel (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.1: 448, 449; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.1(2): 25; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.1: 121, 122; Ibn Manẓūr 1999, v.11: 61; al-Zubaydī 1994, v.8: 407). He was also given other names in the Qur'an: "the Faithful Spirit", "Our Spirit" and "The Spirit" [Qur'an 26:193; 19:17; 66:12; 70:4 78:38; 97:4]. Ibn Manẓūr adds in his linguistic dictionary that this is because Gabriel was created from purity (Ibn Manẓūr 1999, v.11: 61; al-Zubaydī 1994, v.8: 407). The name consists of two words "*Rūḥ*" spirit and "*al-Qudus*" the Holy. *Al-Qudus* is the same as *al-Qudūs* and refers to God (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.1: 450; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.1(2):25; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.1:122); therefore it can be translated as the Holy Spirit or the Spirit of the Holy, the Holy here being God.<sup>2</sup>

### Nuqadisu lak

These words were used by the Angels when they were addressing their Lord (Qur'an 2:30), after He told them about the new vice-regent on earth. They replied by saying the words as part of a longer sentence, at the end of which they said "*wa nuqadis lak*". The verb *nuqadis* means "we glorify and purify". Therefore the prayer of the Angels is one glorifying God and deeming that He is far above any fault or weakness. In other words, they only associate perfection with their Lord; they do not associate any imperfections or impurities with Him. So the meaning here is to glorify and purify through praying and other means, as al-Ṭabarī and others argue (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.1: 248; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.1(1): 263; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.1: 79). However Ibn Manẓūr in his linguistic dictionary mentions that al-Zajjāj says that *nuqadiso lak* means

<sup>1</sup> This concept was explained in the previous chapter in "Barakah in the Qur'an".

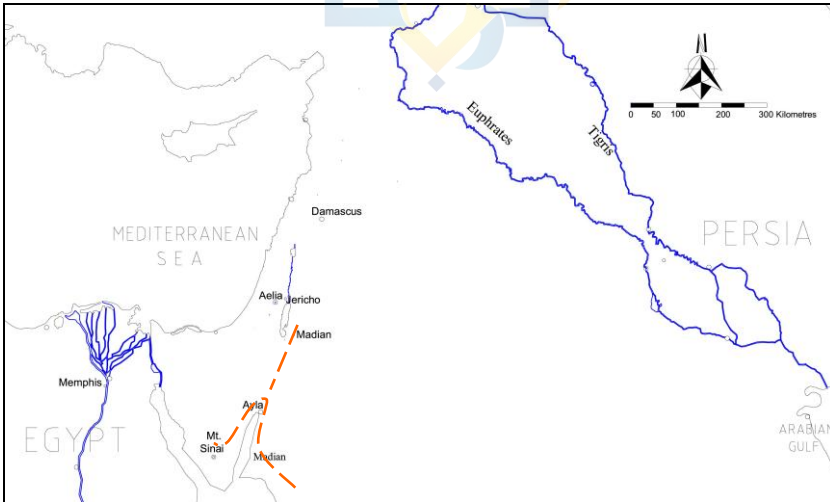
<sup>2</sup> This does not refer to a physical connection between the spirit and God.



that we purify ourselves for you (Ibn Manẓūr 1999, v.11: 60; al-Zubaydī 1994, v.8: 408). Al-Ṭabaraṣī adds that it is to purify the mentioning of God with improper characters, such as a wife, a child, or with being unjust or lying (al- Ṭabaraṣī nd: 2/30).

### Al-Wādī al-Muqadas

This term refers to a geographical location known as the Holy Valley (Qur'an 20:12; 79:16). The exegetists take the word *Muqadas* (Holy) to mean either *muṭabar* (purified) or *Mubārak* (blessed) or both.<sup>3</sup> As for the location of this holy valley, there is much confusion as to where it is. Al-Ṭabaraṣī and other exegetists state that some scholars argue that it is in the Holy Land (al-Ṭabaraṣī 1999, v.8: 398; al-Baghawī 2002, v.4: 5; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.3: 129; al-Suyūṭī 2000, v.4: 523; al-Shawkānī 2000: 1098), while others take it to be within al-Sham (Ibn 'Atiyah 2001, v.5: 433; al-Rāzī 1990, v.16(31): 36; al-Naysabūrī 1996, v.4: 520; v.6: 440; al-Shawkānī 2000: 1096). Other exegetists state that it is a valley in Palestine (al-Māwardī nd: 79/16; al-Suyūṭī 2000, v.4: 523), and yet others say it is a valley in Ayla (Aqaba) (al-Māwardī nd: 79/16). Some however claim it is between Madinah and Egypt (Ibn 'Atiyah 2001, v.5: 433; al-Rāzī 1990, v.16(31): 36; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.10: 173; al-Shawkānī 2000: 1886).



Map 2.1: possible location of the Holy Valley along the dotted line.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ṭabaraṣī (1999, v.8: 398); al-Samarqandī (1997, v.3: 521); al-Māwardī (n.d:70:16); al-Baghawī (2002, v.4: 5); Ibn 'Atiyah (2001, v.4: 39); al-Qurṭubī (1998, v.6: 95); Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.6: 217); Ibn Kathīr (1997, v.4: 399); al-Naysabūrī (1996, v.6: 440); al-Biqā'ī (1995, v.5: 13); al-Shawkānī (2000: 1096, 1886).

A number of exegetists specify that it is the valley next to Mount al-Tur in Sinai (al-Rāzī 1990, v.16(31): 36; al-Baydāwī nd:20/12; al-Naysabūrī 1996, v.6: 440; al-Biqā'ī 1995, v.8: 314; Quṭb 1996, v.6: 3814; Ibn 'Āshūr nd:79/16). This is supported by some Muslim scholars such as Ibn Taymiyah in his *fatawa* (Ibn Taymiyah 1997, v.5: 276). A few of these locations are highlighted along the path on the map above (Map 2.1).

However, it cannot be pinpointed to a specific site nor can it be said to be part of the Holy Land, as there is not enough evidence for any of the arguments provided. Nevertheless it is definitely within the region of al-Sham, along the way from *Madian* to Egypt. There are though two areas with the name Madian, one on the Red Sea and the other just south of the Dead Sea.

Yet there is another verse, which none of the scholars have used to strengthen their argument. It refers to the same incident in a different chapter of the Qur'an and has exactly the same story line. Although the verse does not refer to the valley as holy, it does refer to the same valley referred to as holy in the other verses. It can be understood from this verse that *al-Wādī al-Muqadas* is next to Mount Tur:

Then, when Moses... was travelling with his family, he saw a fire from **next to the Tur** (Mount)... So when he came to it, he was called from the **right bank of the valley**, from a tree in the blessed ground, "O Moses..." (Qur'an 28: 29-30)

This verse puts the site as being next to the Mount Tur – but where is this Mount Tur, from which God first spoke to Prophet Moses? This needs further investigation, as there are many disagreements amongst scholars on pinpointing this location. However, Prophet Muhammad mentioned it in many of his traditions and some of his companions visited it. This means that the site was not only well known to Muslims, it was also known to Jews and other people. There are a few narrations to this effect, one of which records an incident where Abū Hurayrah visited the mountain and met there Ka'b –who was then still a Jew– and they had many discussions about the Torah and the Prophet (al-Nasā'ī 2000, v.1:235; Mālik 2000:36). Many of the traditions talk of the places the Antichrist will not enter and name the Mosque of al-Tur as one (al-Nasā'ī 2000, v.1:235, Mālik 2000:36). Thus the site seems to have been quite popular and known to people of different faiths. The only mountain known today of this description is Mount Sinai in the Sinai Peninsula, and this most likely is the same site known to Abū Hurayrah and the other companions. As for the valley, it is either the valley adjacent to this mountain or the one running down the chain of mountains of which this mountain is a part.

### Al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah

This term, as stated earlier, is mentioned only once in the Qur'an (Qur'an 5:21) and it refers to an area that has special characteristics and carries great importance. It is where many prophets were born, dwelt and were buried, and it also has within it ancient places of worship. The meaning of the word *Muqaddas* here can be understood from the other term with the same root, listed above. The main meanings for the previous terms are focused on purification and blessings. The exegetists have continued along similar lines on this, but some limited the understanding of *Muqaddas* to one meaning only. Some have taken it to mean pure and purification, and some refer this back to Ibn 'Abbās and al-Zajjāj (al-Māwardī nd:5/21; al-Ṭabaraṣī nd:5/21; Ibn al-Jawzī 1987, v.2:323; Abū Ḥayān 2001; al-Tha'ālibī nd:5/21; al-Shawkānī 2000:456). This is explained by saying it has been purified of *shirk* (polytheism) and was made the dwelling place of prophets and believers (Ibn al-Jawzī 1987, v.2:323; al-Barūsī 1985, v.2: 375-6). However, al-Rāzī and others say it means that it is purified from *afaat* (ailments; epidemics) (al-Rāzī 1990, v.6(11): 156; al-Naysabūrī 1996, v.2:574), and reject its being always purified from *shirk* and inhabited by prophets and believers. This is because when the Prophet Moses told his people to enter this land it was not purified from *shirk* and there were no prophets dwelling there. Itfīsh though argues that this applies to the majority and not to every single individual, and also not to every single phase of time. Others add that the purification lies in the fact that the Holy Land has within it the place where people are cleansed from their sins (Abū Ḥayān 2001, v.3:469; al-Ālūsī 1994, v.3(6):277) –i.e. al-Aqsa Mosque.

Others take it to mean blessed, and refer this back to Mujāhid (Ibn 'Aṭīyah 2001, v.2:174; Ibn al-Jawzī 1987, v.2:323; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.3:83). The meaning of blessed was explained in the last section, but al-Qaḍī Muhammad and others add in explaining its meaning that it is purified from famine, hunger and so on (Ibn 'Aṭīyah 2001, v.2:174; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.3:83).

Nevertheless it is clear that there is not much difference between the arguments; both in essence are the same. Therefore, it is both purified and blessed as is argued by al-Ṭabaraṣī and others (al-Ṭabaraṣī 1999, v.4:513; al-Biqā'ī 1995, v.2:425; Ibn 'Āshūr, nd:5/21). Also it will surely be blessed as linguistically everything that is *Muqadas* is also *Mubarak* (Ibn Manẓūr 1999, v.11:61; al-Zubaydī 1994, v.8: 409). Not everything that is *Mubarak* would be *Muqadas*, however. Therefore the Holy Land could be part of the Blessed Land but not vice versa. Thus it is somewhere within the already identified Land of Barakah.

So far, mainly the holiness of the land has been discussed, but what about the effect of the land on its dwellers? Would they as a result also become holy? The answer is that if by holy person is meant one who believes in God and rules justly, then there have been many instances throughout history of people not believing in God and causing mischief, therefore this cannot be accepted. Also, from an Islamic point of view, everyone is accountable for what they do, and their actions are what count, wherever they are, in a holy place or not. This is evident in the traditions of some of the companions of Prophet Muhammad, where one of them Abū al-Dardā' wrote to another companion Salmān al-Farīsī inviting him to join him in the Holy Land. The latter replied "The land does not purify anybody, but every human is made purified by his own actions" (Malik 2000:296). This is also evident in a discussion between Mu'awiyah and Sa'sa'ah who made similar remarks. However, if a person wants to be purified from sin he can choose a holy place where his/her sins are most likely to be forgiven; this is narrated in many authentic *Aḥādīth* concerning the sites of al-Harām Mosque and al-Aqsa Mosque.

### The location of Al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah

The approach taken in the last chapter of excluding the areas not part of the Land of Barakah from the numerous verses would be ideal. However, this is not possible by taking just a single verse. Moreover, other *Aḥādīth* and indirect verses would aid in implementing the same methodology and excluding the areas that are not part of the Holy Land. These indirect verses and *Aḥādīth* would help enormously in portraying a better understanding and explanation of the single verse on the Holy Land. Here is the direct verse:

﴿يَا قَوْمِ ادْخُلُوا الْأَرْضَ الْمُقَدَّسَةَ ...﴾

O my people enter the Holy Land (al-Arḍ al-Muqaddasah)... (Qur'an 5:21)

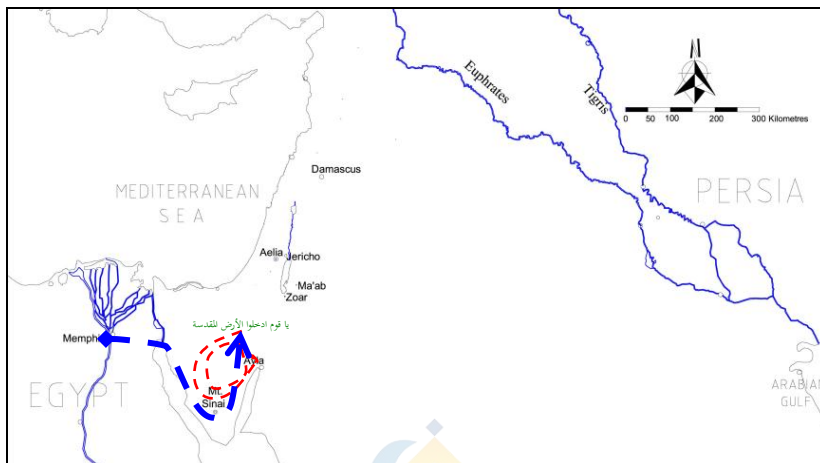
This is a clear address from Prophet Moses to his people to enter *al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah* (Holy Land) after they had left Egypt. It is clear that he is not asking them to enter a city but a region. Since the term used in Arabic is *al-Arḍ* which means "the land", he is talking about an area larger than a city, one that would include many cities, towns and villages. The crucially important question that arises here is, where was Prophet Moses when he commanded his people to enter this land? The answer would map out the area under discussion.

This event definitely happened after Prophet Moses and his people left Egypt. To start with, it is necessary to follow the footsteps of Prophet

Moses and his people after crossing the sea, from a Muslim perspective, to get a close approximation of their whereabouts. The Qur'an says that the Israelites, after crossing the Sea, came across people worshipping idols and wanted Prophet Moses to make them an idol which they could worship (Qur'an 7:138); this indicates that the area they crossed was inhabited. They then made their way to their appointment with their Lord on Mount al-Tur. However, Prophet Moses hurried on ahead of his people (Qur'an 20: 80-84). To start with, he was there for a period of thirty days, which was then extended to forty days (Qur'an 7:142). This means that his people were either following in his footsteps or had stopped where he had left them. By the time he came back they had already made an idol which they were worshipping; Prophet Moses destroyed this and scattered its dust in the sea –thus they were still close to the water (Qur'an 20:97). Prophet Moses selected seventy people from his people for an appointed time with their Lord (Qur'an 7:155). After the covenant was taken from them, twelve people from the Israelite tribes were chosen (Qur'an 5:12). They were sent to see the area where they were going to live (al-Tabarī 1999, v.4:489; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.3: 73). They were then commanded to enter *al-Ard al-Muqadasah*; however, they refused to do so, saying they would never go in until its inhabitants had evacuated it (Qur'an 5:20-22). Their rejection of Prophet Moses' command led to their being forbidden to enter this land and being lost in the wilderness for a period of forty years.

And where is this location? If the Israelites were in northern Egypt, and crossed the Red Sea into Sinai; they would have stayed close to the Red Sea and continued along that route until Prophet Moses came back to them. They would then have moved towards Mount Sinai where some of them went onto the mountain with Prophet Moses. After returning from their appointment with God they would have headed towards the Holy Land.<sup>4</sup> When they reached the Holy Land –this would have been from Sinai to the area south of Palestine today– they did not go in and were destined to be lost in the wilderness for forty years. The position of the wilderness, or as Muslim scholars would call it *Tih Bani Isrā'īl*, is taken to be within the area known today as Sinai or the Sinai Peninsula as is argued by Muslim geographers and scholars.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Kathīr in his book of history gives a different chronology of events; he argues that after crossing the sea they headed towards the Holy Land directly. However, after looking into the Qur'anic verses, a different chronology of events can be deduced as is shown above.



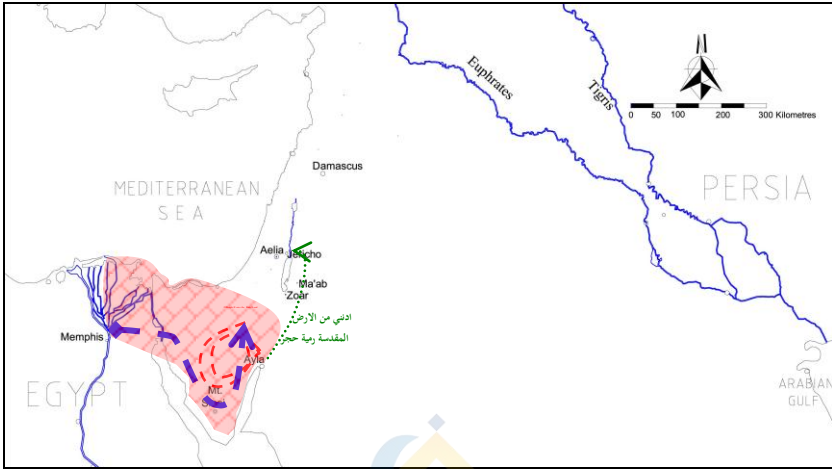
Map 2.2: Possible route taken by the Israelites after leaving Egypt

Thus the area they passed through from the time they crossed the sea, to the place where Prophet Moses spoke to God, to the area in which they were lost, "the wilderness", and any place they lived in during the forty-year ban would by default become *not* part of the Holy Land. It would not have made sense for Prophet Moses to command his people to enter an area in which they were already, and, as the verse (Qur'an 5:26) clearly explains, the whole of the Holy Land was decreed forbidden to the Israelites for that period of time.

Thus most of Sinai can be eliminated from being part of the Holy Land, since the Israelites lived there during that period. Also from the above argument it can be said that *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* (Holy Land) is not the same as *al-Ard al-Mubarakah* (Land of Barakah). It would in fact be smaller, as the Land of Barakah most probably extends to include most of the Sinai Peninsula as already discussed.

Therefore at least the Sinai Peninsula and everything south and west of it can be excluded and, from the following verse and authentic Ḥadīth other areas can be excluded. The verse concerns the *qariyah* (the city) where the Israelites invalidate the Sabbath (Qur'an 7:163). This is also not part of the Holy Land, and it was either the city of Ayla or one of the cities south of it –on the northern end of the Red Sea– as is argued by the majority of exegetists.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Al-Ṭabarī (1999, v.6:91-2); al-Zamakhsharī (1995, v.2:164); al-Ṭabarī (nd: 7/163); al-Rāzī (1990, v.8(15):31); al-Baydawī (nd: 7/163); Ibn Kathīr (1997, v.2:225); al-Samarqandī (1997, v.1:572); al-Baghawī (2002, v.2:327); Ibn 'Atīyah (2001, v.2:467); Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.4:407); al-Nasafī (1996, v.1:119); al-Naysaburī (1996, v.3:337); Iṭfīsh (nd:7/163).



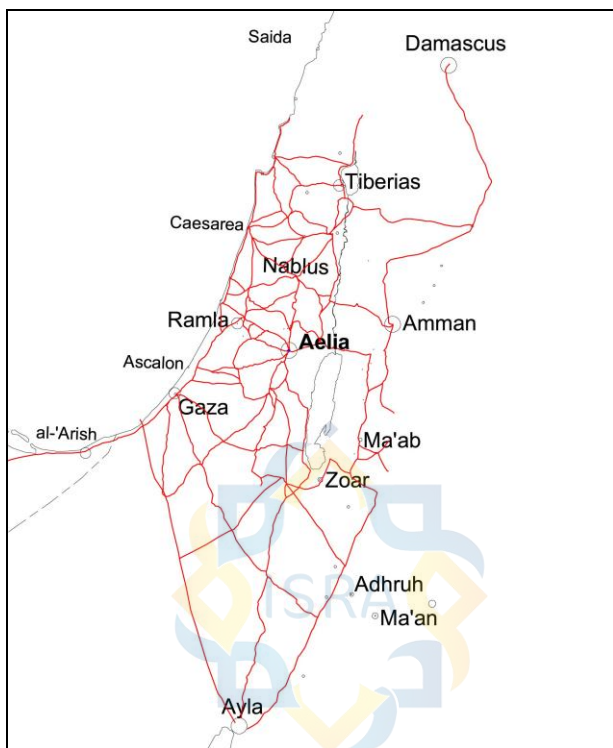
Map 2.3: Shaded area showing the area not part of the Holy Land from the south-west

It is narrated in an authentic Ḥadīth that Prophet Moses before his death asked his Lord to bring him as close as possible to this Holy Land; in his supplication he asked to be brought to the distance of a stone's throw away from it. The Ḥadīth also states that Prophet Moses was buried next to the reddish mound close to this land (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.1:250; Muslim 2000, v.2:1014). Another narration states that the grave of Prophet Moses is on the way from Makkah to Aelia as the Prophet Muhammad stated, that on the Night Journey he saw it next to the reddish mound by the road (Muslim 2000, v.2:1016). This would refer to the road that links Makkah to Aelia at the time of Prophet Muhammad. The Byzantine road system was in effect then and it was as shown in Map 2.4; thus it would be one of these routes coming through Ayla.

There is no disagreement about Prophet Moses being buried in al-Sham (Historical Syria). However, there *is* disagreement on just where in that area he was buried. Muslim scholars agree that Prophet Moses was in the area east of the Dead Sea, and he did not enter the Holy Land after he and his people left Egypt for the last time. On the location of the burial of Prophet Moses however there are many speculations. Some mention an area without pinpointing a site, such as those who claim that he died somewhere outside the wilderness; others claim that he died in the wilderness (al-Mas'ūdī 1893:199; al-Qurṭubī 1998, v.3(2):88; Baydawī nd:5/26; al-Ḥanbalī 1999, v.1:198), while there are those who argue he was buried within al-Sham<sup>6</sup> (al-Maqdisī 1906: 151).

<sup>6</sup> Al-Maqdisī's estimation of the extent of al-Sham does not include Sinai, thus it would be outside it (see section on al-Sham in chapter 1).





Map 2.4: Map of the Roman road network

Some reduce the burial place to a smaller area such as those who claim that Prophet Moses was in the land south-east of the Dead Sea, in what is known as the land of Moab [Ma'āb] (al-Mas'ūdī 1893:200). Yet others pinpoint a specific site, claiming that the burial place of Prophet Moses is in Jericho (al-'Umarī 2003, v.1:229; al-Suyūfī 2000: chapter 16; al-Nabulsī 1990: 209). Some Muslim scholars take the biblical understanding that he was buried on Mount Nebon or Nebo (al-Ya'qūbī nd, v.1: 45; Ibn 'Āshūr nd:5/26), previously known as Mount *Siyagha*. Some go even further and say he was buried in Damascus, which is not based on strong evidence and is rejected by Muslim scholars such as al-Harawī (Marar 1999:41)

The opinions that pinpoint specific sites which they claim to be where Prophet Moses was buried do not have strong historical evidence to establish validity. They are based solely on dreams; this is the case for both Jericho and Damascus. In both sites, a man who was considered pious saw in his dream that this was where Prophet Moses was buried, and later mausoleums were built on these sites (Marar 1999: 43-44).



Even if these far-fetched methodologies are accepted, both cannot be accurate, since there was only one Prophet Moses who saved the Israelites from Egypt.

Moreover, none of these sites fits the two criteria pointed out by Prophet Muhammad in the Ḥadīth. They do not have beside them a reddish mound and they are not on the route from Makkah to Aelia: indeed they are rather out of the way. Mount Nebo has no reddish mountains anywhere nearby. Damascus is too far north and is not on the route from Makkah to IslamicJerusalem. This is also the case for Jericho and the other sites in the direction east of IslamicJerusalem's walled city. In spite of these facts, some have tried to persist the burial place is in these sites. Some have even said the site in Jericho has next to it a reddish mound and has a road coming by it (al-Ḥanbalī 1999, v.1:198; Marar 1999: 45). But this is far-fetched as can be observed from the surrounding area. Yet these claims did not become prominent until the seventh century AH/ thirteenth century CE, when the mausoleums were built during the Mamlūk reign (Marar 1999: 47).

So it is back to the route from Makkah to Aelia to see where there is a reddish mount. There is a series of reddish coloured mountains of that description after passing the ancient city of Ayla ('Aqaba), and before reaching the southern Ghors (south of the Dead Sea) around the area of the valley of *Rum* and the area of *Petra* and parts of the Negev Desert. Parts of these red mountains also lie on the route from Makkah to Aelia. Around that area in addition is where Prophet *Harūn* (Aaron), brother of Prophet Moses is said to have been buried by Prophet Moses on top of the mountain (Ibn Kathīr 1997b, v.1:277), which then became known as *Jabal Harūn* (Aaron's Mountain) (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.4:55). Accordingly, most likely it is around that area rather than the others claimed by these scholars. However, the place has not been pinpointed by Prophet Muhammad or by any other Prophet, so it is very difficult to be exact about the location. But this area best fits the description given by Prophet Muhammad.

### The exegesis of the verse

The exegetists present many confusing arguments on what and where is the Holy Land. They present six main arguments:

- ***Al-Tur* and the area around it**
  - Mujāhid
- ***Al-Sham*, Historical Syria**
  - Qatada
- **Damascus Palestine and parts of Jordan**
  - al-Zajjāj
  - al-Kalbi

- Abū Ṣālih
- Al-Samarqandī
- **Jericho**
  - Ikrimah
  - Ibn Zayd
  - al-Sadī
  - Abū Ḥayān
- **The land of Bayt al-Maqdis**
  - Ibn ‘Abbās & al-Sadī
  - al-Zamakhsharī
  - al-Ṭabrasī
  - al-Baydāwī
  - al-Nasfaī (or al-Sham)
  - Ibn Kathīr
  - al-Biqā‘ī
  - al-Barūsī
  - Abū al-Su‘ud
  - Ibn ‘Ajjibah
  - al-Alūsī;
  - Iṭfish
- **Both Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis**
  - al-Ḍḡahāk

It is noted that many of the exegetists do not give their own opinions on this matter but rather presented the varying opinions without making a preference. However, a few of them did give an opinion – mainly in favour of the land of Bayt al-Maqdis. Al-Ṭabarī's own opinion on this controversy after presenting the different arguments concludes by saying, "Its name is the Holy land as was stated by Prophet Moses, and to say it is this part and not this has no evidence; but what we can be sure of is that it is within the area which extends from the Euphrates and al-‘Arish of Egypt" (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.4:513). Al-Ṭabarī is not trying to reject or support any point of view, though some of the points of view presented can be neglected, as there is strong evidence for their rejection.

### **Al-Tur and the area around it**

The first argument claimed by Mujāhid states that the Holy Land is al-Tur and the area around.<sup>7</sup> It is known from the other verse that the Israelites did not enter the Holy Land (Qur’an 5:26). However, they were in the area around al-Tur (Qur’an 20:80), and were very close to it at other times (Qur’an 2:63, 93; 4:154). Therefore, since they were already in that area, it would not have been rational for Prophet Moses to ask them to enter it. In addition, the area into which they were

<sup>7</sup> Al-Ṭabarī (1999, v.4:512); al-Baghawī (2002, v.2:139); Ibn ‘Aṭīyah (2001, v.2:174); al-Ṭabrasī (nd:5/21); Ibn al-Jawzī (1987, v.2:323); al-Qurṭubī (1998, v.3(2):83); Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.3:469); Ibn Kathīr (1997, v.2:36); al-Shawkānī (2000:456); al-Alūsī (1994, v.3:277)

commanded to enter was inhabited and they would not go in because of the fierceness of its populace. This was not the case in and around al-Tur and this weakens the argument of Mujāhid, making it negligible.

### Al-Sham

As for the second argument by Qatada that it is the whole of al-Sham (Historical Syria)<sup>8</sup>, this can also be rejected on the ground that the Israelites at the time of Moses were in various parts of al-Sham. These would include places such as Sinai, Ayla (Aqaba; Eilat), and areas east of the Dead Sea. However, they did not enter the Holy Land, which means that these areas in which they dwelled within *al-Sham* are not part of the Holy Land. Nonetheless this would mean another area in al-Sham not excluded would be the Holy Land.

### Damascus, Palestine and parts of Jordan

The third argument that it is Damascus, Palestine and parts of Jordan, presented by al-Zajjāj,<sup>9</sup> al-Kalbī,<sup>10</sup> Abū Šāliḥ<sup>11</sup> and al-Samarqandī (1997, v.1:405), has a similar problem to the previous opinion. The names Damascus, Palestine and Jordan in the early Muslim Period refer to the provinces or *ajnad* of these places, which cover the majority of the areas of al-Sham, especially from the southern end. Therefore this argument would be rejected on similar grounds to the previous argument for al-Sham.

### Jericho

The fourth argument put forward by ‘Ikrimah,<sup>12</sup> al-Sadī,<sup>13</sup> Ibn Zayd<sup>14</sup> and Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.3:469) states that the Holy Land is Jericho, which reduces it to a single city. However the verse is talking about *al-Ard* (the land), which is much more than a city; rather it would include many

<sup>8</sup> Al-Ṭabarī (1999, v.4:513); al-Māwardī (nd:5/21); al-Baghawī (2002, v.2:139); Ibn ‘Aṭīyah (2001, v.2:174); al-Ṭabrarī (nd:5/21); Ibn al-Jawzī (1987, v.2:323); al-Qurṭubī (1998, v.3(2):83); Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.3:469); al-Shawkānī 2000:455.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Māwardī (nd:5/21); al-Ṭabrarī (nd:5/21); al-Qurṭubī (1998, v.3(2):83); al-Shawkānī (2000:456); al-Alūsī (1994, v.3:277)

<sup>10</sup> Al-Baghawī (2002, v.2:139); al-Rāzī (1990, v.6(11):156); al-Naysabūrī (1996, v.2:574)

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī (1987, v.2:323)

<sup>12</sup> Al-Ṭabarī (1999, v.4:513); al-Baghawī (2002, v.2:139); Ibn al-Jawzī (1987, v.2:323); al-Rāzī (1990, v.6(11):156); al-Naysabūrī (1996, v.2:574); Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.3:469); Ibn Kathīr (1997, v.2:36)

<sup>13</sup> Al-Ṭabarī (1999, v.4:513); al-Qurṭubī (1998, v.3(2):83); al-Baghawī (2002, v.2:139); Ibn ‘Aṭīyah (2001, v.2:174); Ibn al-Jawzī (1987, v.2:323); al-Rāzī (1990, v.6(11):156); al-Naysabūrī (1996, v.2:574); Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.3:469); Ibn Kathīr (1997, v.2:36)

<sup>14</sup> Al-Qurṭubī (1998, v.3(2):83); Ibn ‘Aṭīyah (2001, v.2:174); Ibn al-Jawzī (1987, v.2:323); al-Rāzī (1990, v.6(11):156); al-Naysabūrī (1996, v.2:574); Abū Ḥayān (2001, v.3:469)

cities, towns, villages and their vicinities. Also the walled city of Bayt al-Maqdis would be of more holiness and importance than Jericho to Prophet Moses since it was their *qiblah* (direction of prayer) at that time and therefore much more sacred. Therefore it does not make sense to say that only Jericho is the Holy Land, and that nothing else is. This is clarified by al-Sadī who states that Jericho is a part of the Holy Land. He states that Jericho is part of the land of Bayt al-Maqdis which makes up the Holy Land (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.4:513-4; Ibn al-Jawzī 1987, v.2:323; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.2:36). If the argument is taken in the form explained by al-Sadī, then it does make sense that they were commanded to enter the Holy Land which is comprised of many cities, and Jericho is simply one of its cities which happens to be the gateway from the eastern direction.

### The land of Bayt al-Maqdis

The fifth argument, namely that it is the land of Bayt al-Maqdis, was popular amongst the exegetists' personal opinions;<sup>15</sup> few gave their personal preference on the matter except in this case. Some take the opinion of al-Sadī and Ibn Zayd to support their conclusion (al-Ṭabarī nd: 5/21; Al-Alūsī 1994, v.3:276-7). If Bayt al-Maqdis is taken in its wider sense to be a region rather than a city –which is made clear by these exegetists by adding the word *Ard* (land) before Bayt al-Maqdis– then it does make sense. However, the extent of the land of Bayt al-Maqdis has to be known in order to get a rough understanding of the extent of the Holy Land. The author looks at the boundaries and extent of Bayt al-Maqdis in chapter 6.

### Both Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis

As for the last opinion by al-Dḡahāk that the Holy Land is Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Baghawī 2002, v.2:139; Ibn al-Jawzī 1987, v.2:323), this seems to be referring to two different entities; they are however two names for the same location. This is explained by Ibn al-Jawzī, who states that Aelia is an area that includes Bayt al-Maqdis (Ibn al-Jawzī 1987, v.2:323). Therefore Aelia is the region and Bayt al-Maqdis is within it, so that Bayt al-Maqdis here refers to either the city or the al-Aqsa Mosque. It is also essential however to know the extent of Aelia to get a better understanding of its relation to the land Bayt al-Maqdis. As

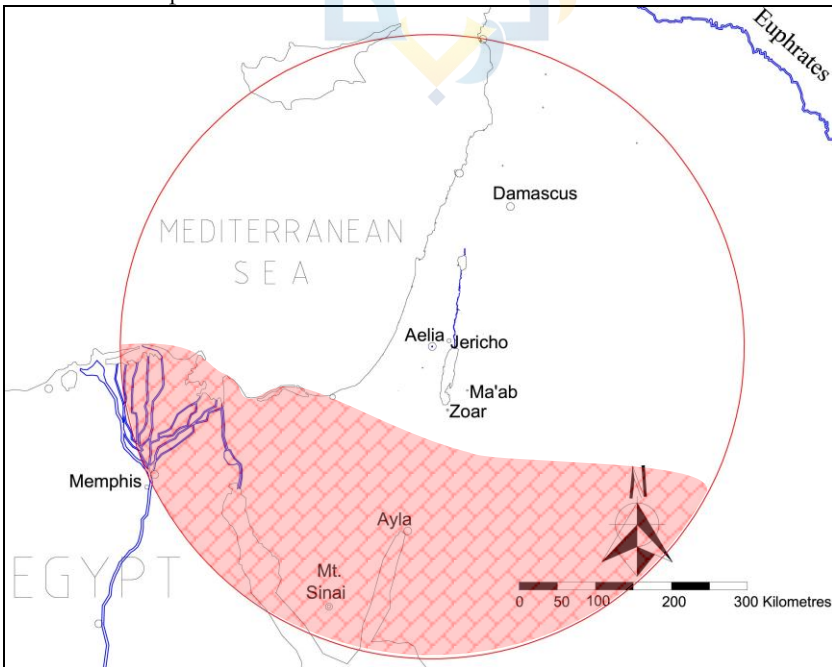
<sup>15</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī (1995, v.1:607); al-Ṭabarī (nd:5/21); al-Baydāwī(nd:5/21); al-Nasfī (1996, v.1:403); Ibn Kathīr (1997, v.2:36); al-Biqā'ī (1995, v.2:425); al-Barūsī (1985: 375-376); Abū al-Su'ūd (nd, v.2:25); Ibn 'Ajiyah (nd:5/21); al-Alūsī (1994, v.3:276-7); Itfīsh (nd:5/21)

will be discussed later Aelia extends over a large area from Caesarea in the north to Ajnādīn in the south (chapter 8).

From the most convincing arguments above it can be argued that the Holy Land is the same as the land of Bayt al-Maqdis or the land of Aelia. However, there is a more compelling argument from the exegetists for the first of these; the land of Bayt al-Maqdis. Also, at earlier periods in the Muslim History, some Muslim geographers have given identical dimensions for the extent of the Holy Land and the land of Bayt al-Maqdis. This point will be examined later after the extent of the land of Bayt al-Maqdis has been investigated separately. Moreover, it can now be concluded that the Holy Land definitely lies within the area of the Land of Barakah, though not all of it, but rather a portion of it. The next section focuses on the extents of the Holy Land.

### The extent of the Holy Land

This section will look at accounts that exclude further areas or equate the Holy Land with another or give some dimensional reference to the area. Sinai, the wilderness and the southern areas of al-Sham (map 2.3), were exclude in the previous section.



Map 2.5: The southern areas excluded from the Holy Land

It has now become more certain that though the Holy Land is not all of al-Sham or the Land of Barakah, it is a considerable section of them. This is further supported by what Ibn Kathīr states regarding another verse regarding the migration of Abraham; he says that Abraham migrated to al-Sham, and specifically to the Holy Land *within it* (Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.3:165). Many of the exegetists also equate the Holy Land with Aelia or the Land of Bayt al-Maqdis.

Here are a few more examples which show this before moving to those who gave dimensions to depict a possible framework. In a Ḥadīth Prophet Muhammad asked Abū Dhar, if he were to leave Madinah and Makkah, where would he go? Abū Dhar replied, I will head to *al-Sham* and *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.16:19).<sup>16</sup> From this Ḥadīth it is clear that he also meant al-Sham to be the larger area and the Holy Land to be within it.

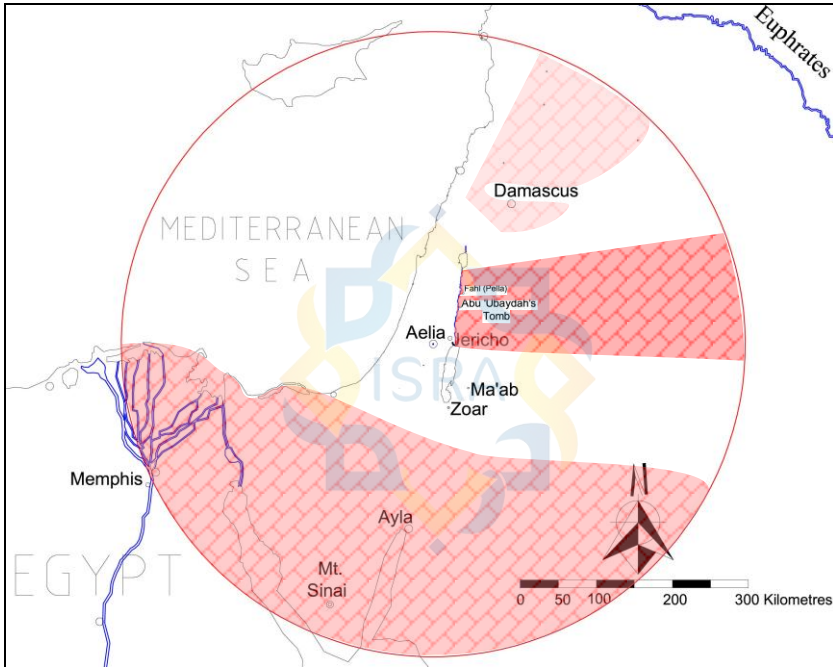
A similar conclusion can be drawn from another Ḥadīth in which Prophet Muhammad was telling ‘Abd Allah Ibn Ḥawalah about some future events; he told him that, when the Caliphate is based in *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* (Holy Land), tribulations, earthquakes and great matters would be nearby, and the Day of Judgment would be soon after (Abū Dawūd 2000, v.2:435; al-Ḥakim 1990, v.4:471). What this Ḥadīth implies is that the Caliphate is to be in the Holy Land just before the Day of Judgment. It had never been in Bayt al-Maqdis or the close area around it, but it had been in Madinah, Damascus, Baghdad and other areas. Another Ḥadīth talks about the Caliphate moving from one city to another and when it finally reaches Bayt al-Maqdis it will never leave (Ibn Ḥammād 1993:66) until the end of time. The closest it has been is Damascus, and Damascus cannot be part of the Holy Land as it does not fit the criteria Prophet Muhammad mentioned. There are some other traditions that quote the Prophet, but their authenticity is questionable.<sup>17</sup>

Most of the narrations and accounts so far have either equated the area with another known area or have helped to exclude areas to the south. However, the following narration takes a different angle: it talks about the eastern area. It refers to an incident that happened in the year 18AH, namely, the death of the commander in chief of al-Sham, Abū ‘Ubaydah ‘Āmir Ibn al-Jarāḥ. The narration talks of his falling into death sickness in the area of *Fahl*, and, as he lay dying, he asked to be buried west of the River Jordan in *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* (Holy Land). He later withdrew his

<sup>16</sup> Some narrations take out and; the letter "nam" in Arabic.

<sup>17</sup> These narrations will not be taken as Prophetic; rather they will be attributed to the first person to have stated them.

request and asked to be buried in the site where he died, out of fear that it would become a custom (al-Wāṣiṭī 1979; Ibn al-Murajja 1985:237; Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī 1994:300). It is well known that Abū 'Ubaydah was buried adjacent to the eastern side of the River Jordan west of Jarash.<sup>18</sup> Thus from this narration the areas east of the River Jordan can be excluded from being part of the Holy Land.



Map 2.6: The southern and eastern areas excluded from the Holy Land

This narrows down the area down to mainly parts of the *Jund*<sup>19</sup> of Palestine. This was evident in a quote by Abū 'Abd al-Malik al-Jazarī as well who said that *al-Sham* is Mubārak, and *Filistīn* (Palestine) is Holy (Ibn al-Murajjā 1985:234; Ibn 'Asākīr 1995, v.1:145; al-Kanji 1985:289) and also Zuhair Ibn Muhammad (Ibn 'Asākīr 1995, v.1:140; al-Hindī 1998, v.12:135; al-Kanji 1985:290). In a letter from Muhammad Ibn Ṭughj to one of the Roman (Byzantine) rulers telling him of the realm of the Muslims he writes: "Also the *Jund* of Palestine which is the Holy Land, that houses al-Aqsa Mosque... the Mosque and tomb of Abraham... the birth place of the Messiah [Prophet Jesus]" (al-

<sup>18</sup> In a village called 'Ithma ('Amta) (al-Hanbalī 1999, v.1:385)

<sup>19</sup> Early Muslim provinces in al-Sham were known as *Jund* (see chapter eight)



Qalqashanī 1987, v.7:13). Both these accounts reinforce the outcome so far, namely, that the Holy Land was within the region of al-Sham in Palestine at that time.

This understanding has survived, although some have confused the understanding of the Land of Barakah with the Holy Land. In more recent times, at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was a popular belief amongst ordinary people that the Holy Land (*al-Ard al-Muqadasah* or *Ard al-Maqdis*) was only a small part of historical Syria, namely its southern part (Riḍā 1999, v.6 269; al-Marāghī nd, v.2(6): 90), meaning it to be Palestine before the colonial boundaries.

All these accounts give some indications of the extent of the boundaries; they are however not precise. Conversely some scholars have presented more exact dimensions for the extent of this land. One of the first to do so was al-Bakrī, and many others have done so, in passing, throughout the centuries. However some, instead of giving dimensions of the Holy Land, have muddled it with the concept of the Land of Barakah, and have given the extents of the latter. The following section will look at how much do the extents given in those accounts fit in within the previous framework.

### Accounts on the extent

#### Al-Bakrī (d.487AH/ 1094CE)

Al-Bakrī mentions in his geographical dictionary a dimensional extent of the boundaries of the Holy Land (al-Bakrī 1992: v.1 466):

والأرض المقدسة أربعون ميلاً في مثلها

The Holy Land is forty Miles multiplied by the same

This gives a single dimension to refer to either a square or a circle with the same dimension on the other side but since he does give two dimensions, it is most likely to be a square as circles would need only one dimension. So it is a square forty miles long and forty miles wide. The mile here would be the Arab mile at around 2km, thus making it around 80 km on each side. However al-Bakrī, does not specify a centre for this area, which leaves us puzzled, as to where it is. Whether it is with a centre or if there is no clear centre to it. If the later understanding is taken and it is placed within the areas not excluded, it will look like this:

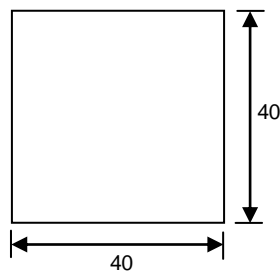
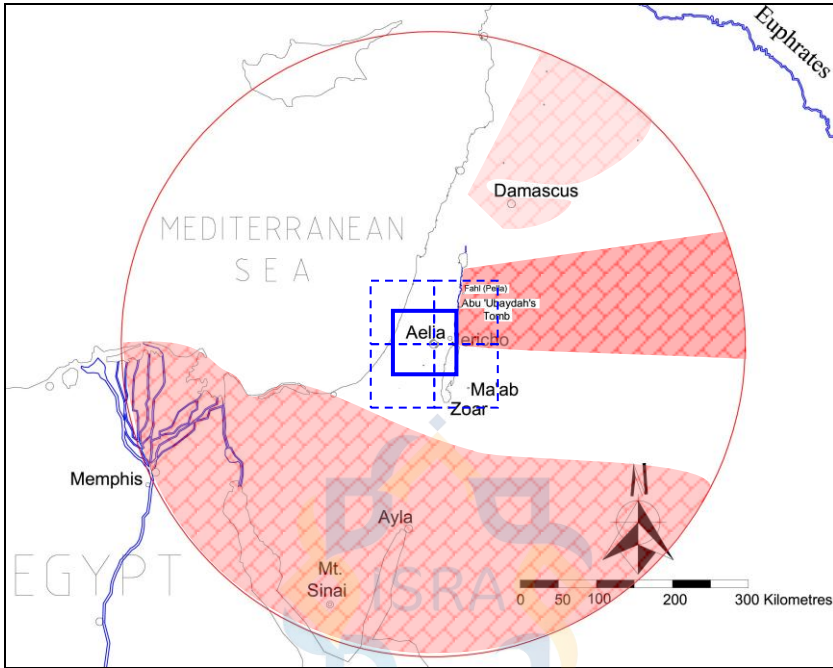


Figure 2.1: forty by forty





Map 2.7: Area of forty miles by forty miles (square with continuous line)

The area may also be understood differently as is the case with al-Tifāshī's account, namely, to be forty miles from the centre (dashed line above). This will be discussed at length later, chapter seven. From al-Bakrī's account it is clear that he is referring to a considerable area within the Land of Barakah and al-Sham.

### Al-Tifāshī (d.651AH/ 1251CE)

Al-Tifāshī's account refers to the extent of the land of al-Quds, to be discussed in chapter seven; however within his account he refers to *al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah* (Holy Land). He talks about the position of Bayt al-Maqdis within the Holy Land. He states:<sup>20</sup>

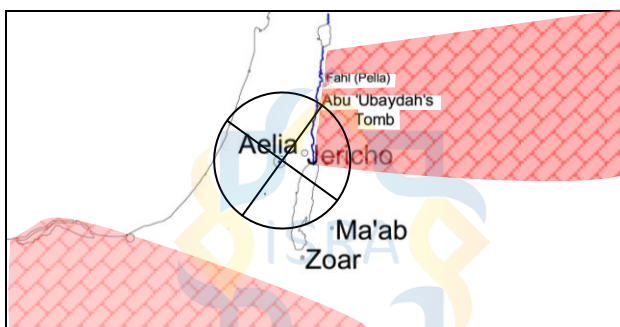
أَنَّ بَيْتَ الْمُقَدَّسِ فِي وَسْطِ تَرْبِيعِ الْأَرْضِ الْمُقَدَّسَةِ الَّتِي بَارَكَ اللَّهُ فِيهَا.

Bayt al-Maqdis lies in the centre of the Holy Land in which Allah has placed Barakah.

From this he talks of the city or the mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis as being the centre of the Holy Land. This could mean the most important point,

<sup>20</sup> He is cited by al-'Umarī 1986: 123

on the other hand, he talks here of dimension and states that it is positioned right in the centre of that land. From this therefore the centre of that land is the city of Bayt al-Maqdis. But this might not be reflected in all the accounts. Al-Tifāshī talks of a circular motion in his account and, taking the closest area that is definitely excluded, it is the grave of Abū 'Ubaydah at around 65 km, taking the distance of that area to the River Jordan at around 30 Arab miles, as shown in the map below. However, just taking it to the River Jordan gives a much smaller area of around 15 Arab miles, which is a lot less than any of the dimensions given.



Map 2.8: Possible extent of al-Tifāshī

### Al-Ḥimyarī (d. 727AH/ 1327CE)

Al-Ḥimyarī gives just the dimensions of the extent of the Holy Land twice in his book, he states (al-Ḥimyarī 1980: 66, 554):

والأرض المقدسة أربعون ميلاً في مثلها

The Holy land is forty miles by the same

He gives exactly the same dimensions as al-Bakrī –not only this, the wording is also identical. Thus this would be the same as al-Bakrī's extent, following the same reasoning.

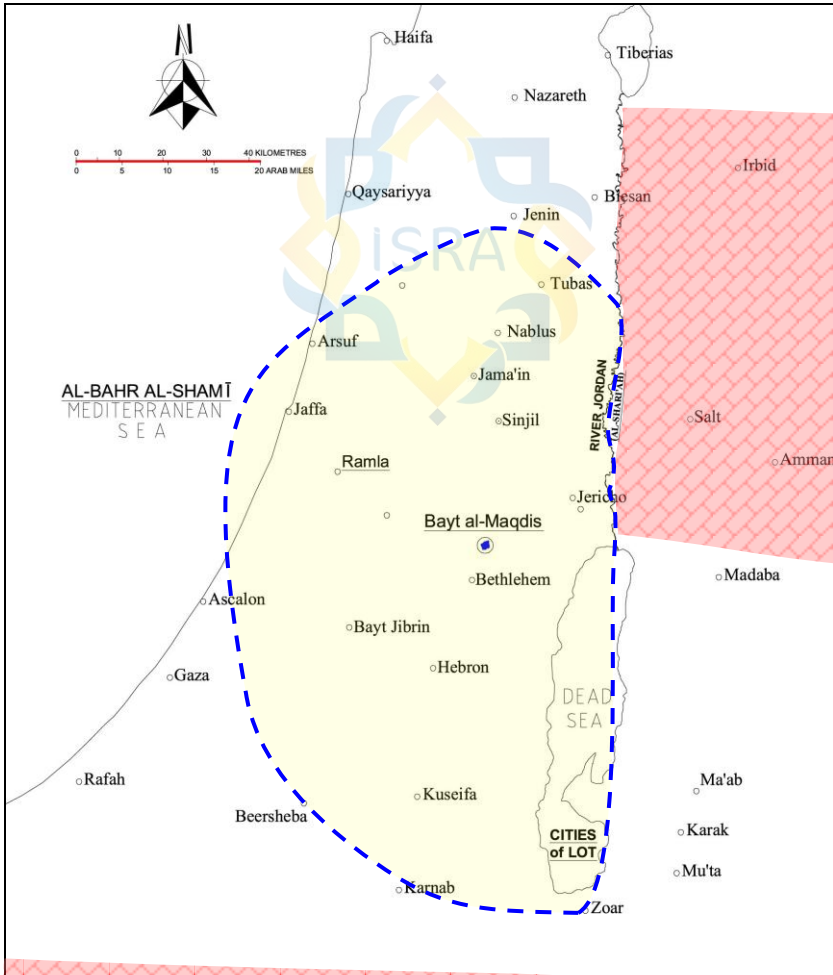
### Al-Qalaqashandī (d.821AH/ 1418CE)

Al-Qalaqashandī was another who gave the extent of the Holy Land. However, he gives no dimensions, but rather a detailed description of the areas included. This account is briefly discussed in the chapter on the boundaries of the land of Bayt al-Maqdis (chapter seven) as it is very similar to an account by al-'Umarī who gives the same extents both for the land of *al-Quds al-Sharīf* and for *al-Ard al-Muqadasah*. But al-Qalaqashandī names only *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* and not the land of al-Quds al-Sharīf; thus it is mentioned here. As for al-'Umarī, since the

accounts are very similar and he is the first to mention the land of *al-Quds al-Sharif*, this is expanded on later. Al-Qalqashandī (nd: v.4, 106) states:

والأرض المقدسة مشتملة على بيت المقدس وما حوله، إلى نهر الأردن المسمى بالشرعية، إلى مدينة الرملة طولاً، ومن البحر الشامي إلى مدائن لوط عليه السلام، وغالبها جبال وأودية إلا ما هو في جنباتها

*al-Ard al-Muqadasah* includes Bayt al-Maqdis and what is around it, up to the River Jordan named *al-Shari'ah*, up to the city of Ramla in width, and from the Mediterranean Sea to the cities of Lot, and most of this land is hills and valleys, except what is on the sides.



Map 2.9: The extent of al-Qalqashandī's map; named sites underlined

Al-Qalaqashandī names the city of Bayt al-Maqdis, the River Jordan, Ramla, the Mediterranean Sea and the bottom end of the Dead Sea. He also talks of the topography of the area and states it is mostly mountains except along the sides. He is therefore referring to the area extending along the chain of mountains from Nablus in the north to the Negev Desert in the south; it would also extend from the River Jordan and the Dead Sea in the east to the Mediterranean Sea in the west as shown above (Map 2.9).

This greatly resembles the map of al-ʿUmarī in chapter seven, with a few minor differences. Moreover, it fits perfectly within the areas not excluded. This is the most detailed extent of the area so far.

### Al-Ḥanbalī (d. 927AH/ 1521CE)

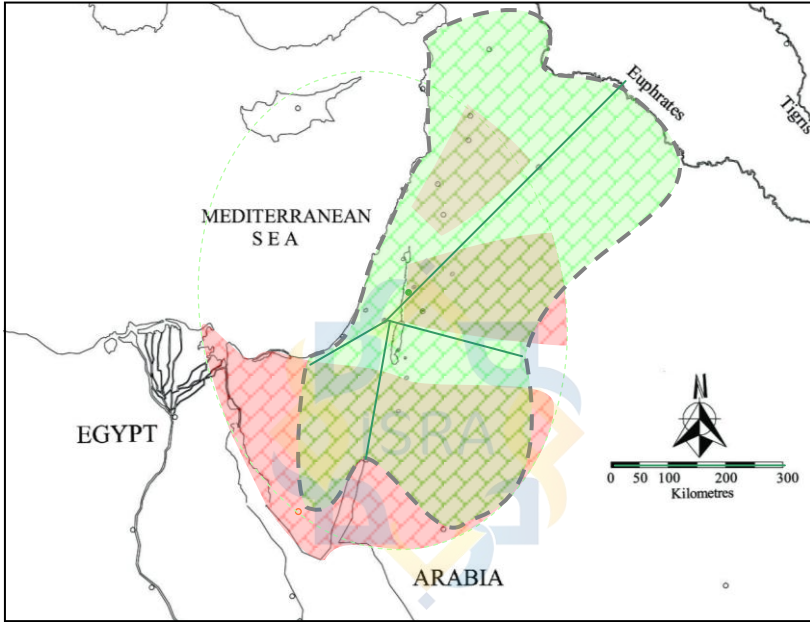
Al-Ḥanbalī gives a completely different extent of the area; he takes it to be equal to the whole of al-Sham, and states (al-Ḥanbalī 1999, v.2: 147):

وأما حدود الأرض المقدسة فمن القبلة أرض الحجاز الشريف، يفصل بينهما جبال الشورى وهي جبال منبجة بينها وبين أيلة نحو مرحلة وسطح أيلة هو أول حد الحجاز من تيه بني إسرائيل، وبينها وبين بيت المقدس نحو ثمانية أيام بسير الأتقال. ومن الشرق من بعد دومة الجندل برية السماوة، وهي كبيرة ممتدة إلى العراق ينزلها عرب الشام، ومسافتها عن بيت المقدس نحو المسافة أيلة. ومن الشمال مما يلي الشرق، نحر الفرات على قول الحافظ مؤرخ الشام شمس الدين محمد الذهبي، رحمه الله، ومسافته عن بيت المقدس نحو عشرين يوماً بسير الأتقال، فيدخل في هذا الحد المملكة الشامية بكاملها. ومن الغرب بحر الروم وهو البحر المالح ومسافته عن بيت المقدس من جهة رملة فلسطين نحو يومين. ومن الجنوب رمل مصر والعريش، ومسافته عن بيت المقدس نحو خمسة أيام بسير الأتقال، ثم يليه تيه بني إسرائيل وطور سيناء، ويمتد من تلك الجهة إلى تبوك ثم دومة الجندل المتصلة بالحد الشرقي

As for the extent of the Holy Land from the southern direction it is the land of *al-Hijaz al-Sharif*, dividing them are the mountains of al-Shura. From the East from after *Dawmat al-Jandal* it is the desert of al-Samawah. From the North-Eastern side it is the River Euphrates. Thus within this extent the entire Shamī Kingdom is included. Towards the west it is the Mediterranean Sea. Towards the south is Egypt and al-ʿArish followed by the wilderness of Israelites and Mount Sinai. Then it extends to Tabuk and Dawmat al-Jandal which is connected to the eastern limit.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The above is a simplification of the full translation: "As for the extent of the Holy Land from the direction of the Qiblah (south) it is the land of *al-Hijaz al-Sharif*, dividing them are the mountains of al-Shura which are invincible. Between them and Ayla is around a stage. The plain of Ayla is the beginning of the boundaries of al-Hijaz from the *Tih* (wilderness) of *Bani Israil*. Between it (Ayla) and *Bayt al-Maqdis* is around eight days' travel in the travel of heavy loading caravans. From the East from after *Dawmat al-Jandal* it is the desert of al-Samawah, which is very large extending to Iraq, many of the Bedouins of al-Sham dwell in it, from *Bayt al-Maqdis* it is around the same distance as it is to Ayla. From the North-Eastern side it is the river Euphrates according to the Historian al-Sham Shams al-Dīn Muhammad al-Dhahabī –

From the outset it is clear that al-Ḥanbalī is referring to the whole of al-Sham, and he is probably trying to show in his account the extent of the Land of Barakah rather than that of the Holy Land. The area he is referring to is as shown below.



Map 2.10: The extent of the Holy Land according to al-Ḥanbalī's (dashed line); overlaying the excluded areas

From al-Ḥanbalī's map it seems clear that his depiction overlays the extent he gives of al-Sham (al-Ḥanbalī 1999, v.2: 126-7) rather than the Land of Barakah or the framework already set for the Holy Land. He includes many areas that are surely not part of the Holy Land, such as the tomb of Abū 'Ubaydah, east of the River Jordan. Thus his account would be neglected on these grounds.

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may God have mercy on him— The distance from there to *Bayt al-Maqdis* is around twenty days' travel in the travel of heavy loading caravans. Thus within this extent the entire Shamī Kingdom is included. Towards the west it is the Roman Sea which is the salty sea (Mediterranean Sea) its distance to *Bayt al-Maqdis* from the route of the Ramla of Palestine is around two days. Towards the south it is the sands of Egypt and al-'Arish, its distance to *Bayt al-Maqdis* is five days' travel in the travel of heavy loading caravans. Then it is the *Tib* (wilderness) of *Bani Isrā'il* and Mount Sinai. From that direction it extends to Tabuk and then Dawmat al-Jandal which is then connected to the eastern limit."

### Al-Tumurtāshī (d. ~1127AH/ 1715CE)

Another scholar who wrote a whole book on determining the extent of the Holy Land, the land of Palestine and the lands of al-Sham was the *Ḥanaḥī Muḥṭī* of Gaza Ṣālīḥ Ibn Aḥmad al-Tumurtāshī. He was triggered to write this book after a discussion in a college/school in Egypt in the presence of the Minister Khalīl Afandī as to whether Damascus is part of the Holy Land or is not (al-Tumurtāshī 1998:61). However, his book was a mere duplication of previous writing, especially that of al-Ḥanbalī mentioned earlier and al-Suyūṭī (al-Tumurtāshī 1998:62). He quotes the same extent as that of al-Ḥanbalī in his book (al-Tumurtāshī 1998:88) and, when giving the extent of al-Sham, he also gives identical extents (al-Tumurtāshī 1998:70). This shows clearly that he took the Land of Barakah, the land of al-Sham and the Holy Land to be identical, which have been clearly demonstrated as three different and diverse entities.

### Ibn ‘Āshūr (d. 1393AH/ 1973CE)

Ibn ‘Āshūr, a contemporary exegetist, talks of the extent of the Holy Land in more biblical terms. He first tries to compare it with the land of Canaan and then the land of Palestine as shown below (Ibn ‘Āshūr nd:5/21):

والأرض المقدسة ... وهي هنا أرض كنعان من بركة (صين) إلى مدخل (حماة وإلى حبرون). وهذه الأرض هي أرض فلسطين، وهي الواقعة بين البحر الأبيض المتوسط وبين نهر الأردن والبحر الميت فتنتهي إلى (حماة) شمالاً وإلى (عزة وحبرون) جنوباً

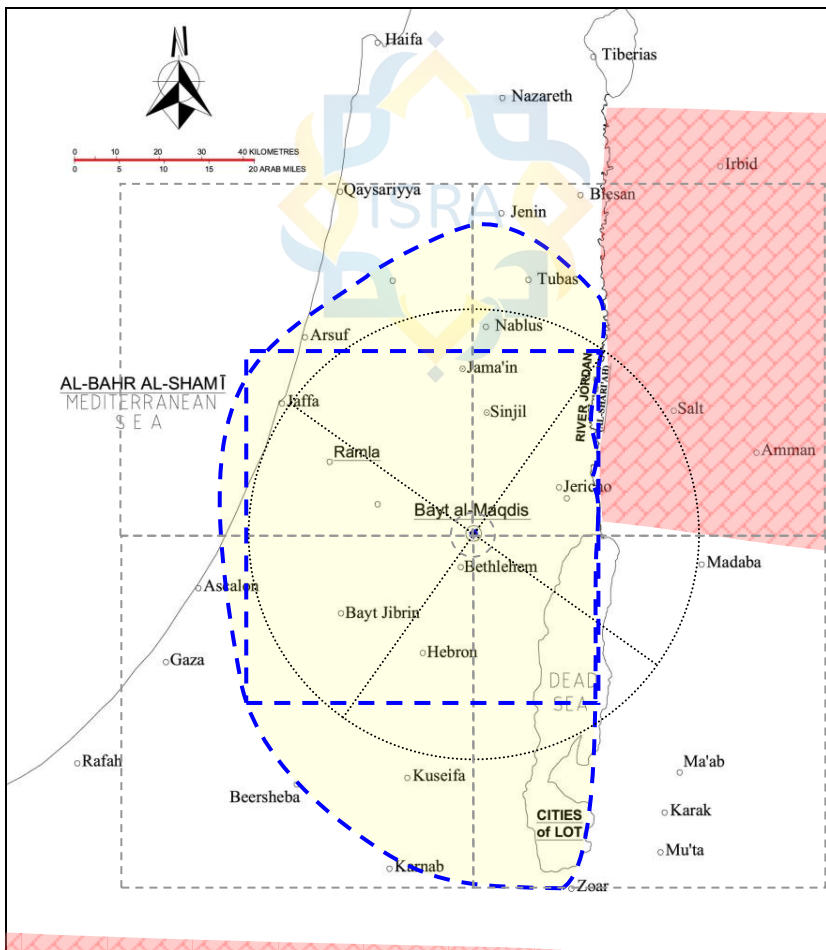
The Holy Land ... is here the land of Canaan from the Desert of Sin to the entrance of Hammah and Hebron. This land is the land of Palestine, which is situated between the Mediterranean Sea and the River Jordan and the Dead Sea, it extends to Hammah in the North and Gaza and Hebron in the South.

It is very clear that he is trying to describe the Promised Land, in modern terms, as being all the way from southern Palestine to northern Syria. He then makes it equal to Palestine which is not accurate either in modern or in ancient terms. Thus the extent here cannot be accepted for these contradictions. It seems to also be coloured with some of the recent boundaries. In addition, he is clearly quoting biblical sources throughout his exegeses of this verse; he talks about Mount Nebo, Qadish; and tries to fit them within the Qur’anic understanding.

### Conclusion

Thus from all the different accounts of the extent, and working within the understanding of the framework, many of the accounts have been accepted and others have had to be rejected. A number of accounts fit

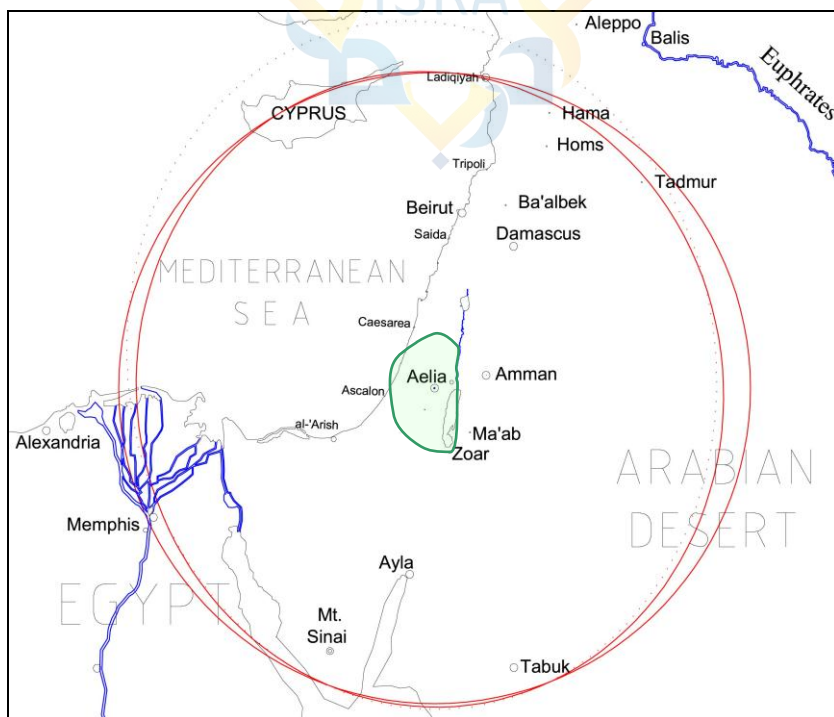
within the area of the prior framework, some larger than others. The most detailed description of the extent was that of al-Qalaqashandī, but this has many similarities with the account of al-ʿUmarī on the extent of al-Quds al-Sharīf which he equates with the extent of the Holy Land. Also accounts which mention the dimensions forty miles by forty miles are very similar to the account of al-Maqdisī on the extent of the land of Islamic Jerusalem. In addition, the strongest opinion amongst the exegetists on this land is that it is the land of Bayt al-Maqdis. Although there is a great deal of resemblance between the two, they cannot be compared until the extent of the other is established, in chapter seven. At that point, the similarities and differences will become obvious.



Map 2.11: Different depictions of the extent of the Holy Land

Above are all the possible depictions of the area of the Holy Land from the different accounts. The most fitting is that of al-Qalqashandī since it lies perfectly within the un-excluded area. The earlier accounts refer to forty by forty miles; however, the boundaries are not single straight lines or something as uniform as a square or circle. The area is mainly within the area of *Jund Palestine*; it fits perfectly with one of the narrations from the first Muslim century mentioned earlier, namely that al-Sham is *Mubārak* and Palestine is *Muqaddas* (Holy).

**In short**, the extent of this land has been left vague for centuries; confusions and contradictory remarks about it abound. Many scholars have just mentioned its extent in passing, paying little attention to detail. However, there have been known exceptions such as the narration of al-Qalqashandī which is quite specific and possibly many others that are not known or published. "Specifics", such as whether a site is part of this land, has been debated from time to time. There are many misconceptions over this topic, the main one being that this land is the same as the Land of Barakah or the same as al-Sham.



Map 2.12:: Relation between the Land of Barakah (outer circles) and the Holy Land (in middle)



These misconceptions were the most prevalent views since the three are intertwined; it has been very difficult to draw a line between the three entities which are inseparable from one another. All this has added to the dilemma and has made it very difficult to accept that they are three different entities with a common ground.

What can clearly be seen is that the Land of Barakah is the larger region and the Holy Land is within it, as shown in Map 2.12 above. However, there seems to have been a clear resemblance between the Holy Land and the land of Bayt al-Maqdis as well as al-Sham and the Land of Barakah; thus they broadly appear similar. This was probably the main cause of confusion between the terms. However, the confusion over the terms the Land of Barakah and the Holy Land may have been caused by a linguistic mix-up, as the term holy has as one of its synonyms Barakah. Thus the terms gradually came to be understood as being the same or identical entities.





PART TWO:  
THE USAGE OF THE NAMES OF  
ISLAMIC JERUSALEM





# THE NAMES OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM: FROM THE PRE-MUSLIM PERIOD UNTIL 23AH

This chapter and the next two focus on Islamic Jerusalem's Arabic names. They encompass the eras from before the rise of Islam until the late Ottoman period, covering just over thirteen centuries. The names used in these eras are surveyed and their connotations and meanings are examined since many of them carry numerous connotations, thus leading to confusion.

## Introduction

Locations and places are initially given names by their first inhabitants. However, these names are sometimes changed entirely to completely new ones, at other times they are partially changed, and sometimes they are reduced to specific sites or expanded to cover larger areas. This has been the case for many places throughout time, and now many of these terms and names no longer represent the ancient locations. For example, take the area of al-Sham two millennia ago; Syria has been very much reduced in size, Jordan is an area completely different from the area it formerly represented, and Palestine has been given new borders that have taken areas from one side and added areas to another. These changes cause much confusion and many contradictions, especially with the passing of centuries, and with new generations coming up. The very same confusions are also encountered with cities and provinces, especially when cities have been completely ruined and rebuilt, borders changed and names altered. This has certainly been the case with one of the most ancient cities in the world: Jerusalem. During the last two millennia it has been destroyed and rebuilt many times, and its borders changed. Moreover, its name has been changed repeatedly, for instance, Aelia, Bayt al-Maqdis, *al-Quds*, and others.

Indeed, this has been the case from the dawn of time; the city and its vicinity have attracted many nations who have dealt with it differently and renamed it. It is said that its most ancient names were *'Ur Shalim* and *Yabūs* (Smith nd, v.1:251, 266; al-Ḥilū 1999:88,563; al-Ḥūsainī 1969: 30-35; Shurrāb 1994: 33,34), followed by many more. By the eve of the first Muslim take-over (*Fath*), and five hundred years prior to that, the city was known as Aelia Capitolina and the surrounding area as Aelia (Ibn Khaldūn 1999: v.1 198; Wilkinson 1990: 88; Smith nd, v.1:271; Le Strange 1970:96). Aelia continued to be the name used for some time under Muslim rule. However, Arabs before and after Islam were also using other names and, with the rise of Islam, new terminologies that the city was a central part of were introduced in the Qur'an. These included Land of Barakah and the Holy Land, along with other terminologies narrated in Prophet Muhammad's tradition, which Muslims throughout their history have used, as well as other names introduced in later centuries.

This chapter looks at the usages of these names and the introduction of new ones from the start of Islam till the end of the reign of the rightly guided Caliphs, as well as exploring what these names actually referred to. This period includes the Prophetic period both in Makkah and Madinah and the reigns of both Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The following chapter continues from this period looking into the reigns of the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties up to the first interruption at the time of the Crusades. This will be followed by another chapter looking into the second Muslim Phase until the end of the Ottoman period.

Moreover, the focus of this chapter will be the early Muslim periods. However, before discussing the names used during Muslim periods, the pre-Islamic period in Arabia is briefly examined, to give a better understanding of how the Arabs would have referred to this area before and during the early years of Islam.

A central historical issue that has to be understood is how people in a particular time, place and culture use a certain terminology. There are many cases, however, where this is very difficult to comprehend. For instance, when a writer in a certain era talks about a prior historical period, does he use the historical term of that historical era or does he use the contemporary name? Such is the example of al-Ṭabarī when he gives an account of the conquest of Bayt al-Maqdis; confusion arises as to whether he is using here the contemporary name or the historical one used at the time of the event. A question such as this is sometimes resolved when a quotation from a document from that historical period is presented by a chain of narrators, as was the case in the 'Umar's

Assurance of Safety to the People of Aelia. But even this is not always reliable, as one of the transmitters may sometimes use the contemporary name of his time, so that the people will know to what he is referring. This also applies in the case of some Ḥadīth narrations which are regarded as weak, where the transmitter might change the wording and use his/her own words – one of the reasons why such a Ḥadīth is not accepted as *Ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic) or *Ḥasan* (sound).

A similar case can also be noticed in Arabic poetry, which gives an indication rather than a precise account of the usage of the name in a particular period. The reason for this is because Arabic poetry follows a number of rules such as rhyming and having a constant letter at the end of every verse throughout the poem. There are many cases where this is so, and a poet might use an unfamiliar and unused name because this fits the requirement of the poetry. Therefore, in most cases poetry would only be used to support an argument rather than present one.

The methodology used in this chapter varies. In the case of *Aḥādīth*, the Ḥadīth methodology is used to assess authenticity and accuracy, and only authentic or sound narrations are used on which to base arguments. These narrations from authentic *Aḥādīth* give a very precise picture of the usage of the names. For other accounts, though, such as historical ones, if the Ḥadīth methodology is applied most of them will not even stand, or will be considered very weak. This applies to any historical narration whether in Muslim or non-Muslim sources, as such narrations do not have a chain of narrators which can be authenticated. Consequently, in Ḥadīth methodology, none of these accounts can be used; however, these other sources provide most of the literature on history and carry an extent of authentic information, though they were not as safeguarded as were the *Aḥādīth*. Therefore the Ḥadīth methodology cannot be applied to these narrations, but historical methodology can be applied, and the texts are taken as historical texts. This can be the same for weak or fabricated narrations; although they may not be accepted as *Aḥādīth* they can be accepted as historical texts, and reveal quite a lot about the historical period in which they were either modified or created.

Tracing the usage and development of these names, and understanding what exactly they refer to, gives a better understanding of when and why they have changed, as well as understanding the simultaneous usage of a name in different connotations. Moreover this helps tremendously in the following chapters when specifically talking about accounts of the region of Bayt al-Maqdis and the different names used to refer to this region, given that the names used to refer to it have also changed

throughout different Muslim eras and would possibly correspond to changes to a city's name and its surroundings. In addition some accounts actually refer to more than the city and its mosque; many actually refer to the region of which the mosque and the city are only a part.

The primary sources for this chapter are the Arabic literature from those early periods, and literature that discussed these periods. These include Qur'anic verses, *Aḥādīth*, poetry both *Jahiliy* (pre-Muslim) and Muslim, and historical accounts, amongst others.

First of all, a linguistic foreword is needed concerning the terms and names to be used. Aelia: some try to prove that this means the house of the Lord or claim it is the name of one of the sons of Sam, son of Noah, (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.1:348-9; Maḥmūd 1979:21,24), however most of these arguments are baseless as it was a Latin name given by Hadrian in 135 CE (al-Ḥilū 1999:91). As for the name Bayt al-Maqdis; this can be read as Bayt al-Maqdis or *Bayt al-Muqaddas*. It consists of two words, the first *Bayt* literally means a house. It is used in the Qur'an on its own to refer to the Ka'bah with the definite article *al*, *al-Bayt* (Qur'an 2:125,127,158; 106:3; etc). It is also in the form *Bayti* (My [God's] House) (Qur'an 2:125; 22:26; etc). Not only this, it was also used in reference to houses (Qur'an 2:189; 3:149; 15:23 etc), palaces (Qur'an 12:23; 17:93, etc), mosques (Qur'an 24:36), webs (Qur'an 29:41) and others. As for *al-Maqdis* or *al-Muqaddas*; both come from the root q-d-s which carries many meanings: holy, pure and blessed (as discussed in chapter two). However, the first is a noun and the second is an adjective. Thus literally it means "the Holy House" or "the House of Holiness", especially when the definite article *al*- is used before the name. The name Bayt al-Maqdis or *Bayt al-Muqaddas* does not necessarily have this literal meaning, as it is common in that region to use *Bayt* for names, for example *Bayt Lahm* (Bethlehem) is not translated literally into "house of meat"<sup>1</sup>. This type of composite name has been popular from the time of the Canaanites in the region. As for al-Quds or al-Qudus, this comes from the same Arabic root, and has a meaning of holiness attached. Again, though, the first is a noun and the second an adjective. As for the term *Sharīf*, it is an adjective and means honoured or noble.

<sup>1</sup> In Aramaic *Lahm* refers to food and not necessarily meat as is in Arabic (al-Ḥilū 1999:138-9)



### The Pre-Muslim Period in Arabia

The city just before the advent of Islam in Arabia was under Byzantine control and its name was Aelia Capitolina. This was the case for nearly five hundred years from 135CE. The city had however a province or a region, comprising numerous cities, towns and villages, known as Aelia (Wilkinson 1990: 88; Jones 1987: 96), with its centre or capital the walled city "Aelia Capitolina". The Arabs before Islam had a fair knowledge of the area in general and of the city in particular, due to their trade links with the whole area of al-Sham. This was so for the Arabs in the Arabian Peninsula. Many Arab tribes however were living in the area of al-Sham, in addition to their kingdom there – tribes such as the Gassanides. These would have had even a better knowledge of the area than those who came for business and then returned to their homes in Arabia. Add to this the fact that many of them were Christian and were known as the Christianised Arabs, and they therefore would have had more links with Aelia for religious purposes, unlike the pagans of Arabia who would have been there only for business. The question arises: did Arabs during that period and in earlier periods use the Byzantine names or did they have an Arabised version of the Byzantine names or even their own Arabic names? Unfortunately, there is very little literature on what Arabs called it before Islam, because there is hardly any written material from that period. Nonetheless, Arabs of that period excelled in another form which *has* reached us, namely, Arabic poetry, which has survived throughout the ages by memorisation. In the early Muslim eras the poems were recorded. Though there are many poems, only a few verses refer to the city and mention different names for it.

One of these names was mentioned in a verse by one of the most famous Arab poets ever, namely, 'Imr'u al-Qays (d. 545 CE [80 BH]). In his famous poem he says ('Imr'u al-Qays 1998:300):

كما شَرِيقُ الْوِلْدَانِ تُوبَ الْمَقْدِسِ  
They caught up with him taking his  
legs and flesh

فَأَدْرَكْنَاهُ يَأْخُذَنَّ بِالسَّاقِ وَالنَّسَا  
Similar to how the children  
snatched the garment of the *Maqdisi*

Here he refers firstly to how the dogs caught up with the wild bull, snatching and tearing his legs and flesh; he then contrasts this scenario with the children snatching and tearing the garment of a Christian priest from Bayt al-Maqdis for blessing,<sup>2</sup> as the children welcome him. The verse's last word *maqdisi* (Jerusalemite) clearly refers to the word it comes

<sup>2</sup> Al-Ḥamawī (nd, v.5:166); al-Ṣaghani (nd:164); Al-Zamakhsharī (nd:369); Ibn Manẓūr (1999, v.6:169); Maḥmūd (1979: 110).

from, Bayt al-Maqdis. Though this title *Maqdisi* cannot be used for names such as Aelia or *UrSalim*, it can be used for other terms such as *al-Quds* and *al-Quds al-Sharif*. However, these names were introduced many generations later, and the term *Maqdisi* is not derived from *al-Quds*<sup>3</sup> but rather from *al-Maqdis*. This only points to the name Bayt al-Maqdis which indicates that it had been in existence for Arabs well before Islam.

It is also argued that *Maqdisi* here refers to a Christian priest from Bayt al-Maqdis (Ibid). Therefore, if this understanding is accepted, then the priest was coming from the city and not to the site of al-Aqsa Mosque which can also be referred to as Bayt al-Maqdis. The holiest site for Christians within the city is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and not the site of al-Aqsa Mosque. Moreover, some may argue that Bayt al-Maqdis was equivalent to the region of Aelia, and that this priest was actually coming from another important site to Christianity within Aelia such as Bethlehem. This could be possible, but there is no evidence to support such an argument at this stage and during this time. Therefore it will be taken to mean the city and its close vicinity, and not the region or the Mosque, as it has no relevance here.

Another poet whose poetry lives on is Al-A'shā, who died at the start of the Prophetic mission in Makkah. In this line of poetry he says (Al-A'shā 2003:200):

عَمَّانَ فَجَمَصَ فَأُورِي شَلِيمَ  
And I have gone round the horizons  
of money

وَقَدْ طُفْتُ لِلْمَالِ أَفَاقَهُ  
Amman then Homs then  
UriShalim

In this verse of poetry he refers to three cities in that region, Amman, Homs and Jerusalem. He names Jerusalem *UriShalim*, one of its ancient names. It is said that this name was first used by the Canaanites, Ur to mean city and Shalim is the God of the Canaanites. It is first documented in the Egyptian Execration Texts in the nineteenth century BC, and continued to be used in the texts of 'Amarnah in the fourteenth century BC, then in the Old Testament (al-Housaini 1969: 30-34). This name was not contemporary with Al-A'shā, especially after the name Aelia was enforced five hundred years earlier; rather it had been superseded by other names. However, it seems that al-A'shā used it because of the restrictions on the words being used within a certain rhyme. Also this word had to finish with a letter "Meem" for the *Qafiyah* (ending of every verse), which neither Bayt al-Maqdis nor Aelia ended with. Still, the use of this word gives us an indication that Arabs were

<sup>3</sup> The word *Quds* is derived from *al-Quds*.

aware of the other names for the city, even ancient ones. This is what allowed a poet such as al-A'shā to pick and choose to suit his style.

Not much literature has been passed down from the pre-Muslim period concerning the names of Aelia, and only two verses of poetry have survived from that period. And, as is shown in the next section, early Islamic traditions imply that pagan Arabs in Makkah before and during the rise of Islam knew the city of Aelia well. This is clearly evident after the Prophet had told them about his Night Journey to the walled city, and they asked him for precise details of what he had seen. The name used in their discussion was mainly Bayt al-Maqdis as well as Aelia; the next section goes into this in more detail.

Thus it seems that, in the pre-Muslim period, the Arabs predominantly used the Arabic terminology Bayt al-Maqdis, as well as its Latin name Aelia. They were also aware of other names the city had over previous generations.

The question that arises here, though, is how long have they used these names for? UriSalim or UriShalim was used by the Canaanites before the nineteenth century BC (al-Hilū 1999:88); Aelia would not have been used before 135 CE, when Hadrian introduced it, and therefore it would have been used after 135CE. But as regards the name Bayt al-Maqdis, it is not clear when this was first introduced. What is clear is that Arabs had been using it well before Islam. It could have been introduced by ancient Arabs as their own name for this place. Or it could have been introduced by the first builder of the mosque in the city, the name thus having a divine origin. Similar to the Ka'bah, it was called *al-Bayt* (the House) (Qur'an 2:158, 3:96-97, 22:26, 106:3) and, to distinguish them, al-Aqsa was named *al-Bayt al-Muqadas* (the Holy House). Or it might have no root in Arabic and have its origin in other Semitic languages such as Aramaic and Hebrew (al-Hilū 1999:442). But these are mere speculations and none can be confirmed for certain.

### Prophetic Period

Two main terms are used during the prophetic period, Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis. However there are verses in the Qur'an that introduce other names, these will be mentioned here only briefly since they have already been examined in chapters one and two. This section pauses on each milestone of the life of the Prophet that is related to Bayt al-Maqdis. The main focus is on the terminologies used in the *Sunnah* or *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet for this area. There are many books of *Ḥadīth* – authentic, sound, weak or fabricated. Those in the first three categories will be discussed in this section, but some *Aḥādīth* in the fourth category will be

discussed in the next chapter with reference to the time they are believed to have been fabricated, as this will help give an understanding of the name used then. As for the Qur'anic verses, the main aim is to note the time they introduced the new terminologies within the life of the Prophet. However, this is a period of twenty-three years, and sometimes the *Aḥādith* were said during or directly after the event or sometimes a while later. They are in chronological order as far as can be ascertained.

The Prophet used the term Bayt al-Maqdis in different connotations. There were times when he mentioned the word Bayt al-Maqdis to refer to al-Aqsa Mosque; then again he sometimes used the word to refer to the city and sometimes beyond to cover the region. However at times it is very difficult to decide on one or the other, as the narrations do not give a precise indication and the term could sometimes mean both or carry all three meanings.

### First connection

The first connection of the Prophet with the area of Aelia is said to be soon after his Prophethood. The second revelation to the Prophet was a command for him and the believers to pray (Qur'an 73), and to pray there has to be a direction in which the worshipper prays. It is known that the first *Qiblah* (direction of prayer) was Bayt al-Maqdis, though there is nothing to show when exactly the Prophet and his companions started to face it in their prayers. Ibn Kathīr states that Ibn 'Abbās and the majority of scholars agree that it was Bayt al-Maqdis from the start with the *Ka'bah* in front, and when the Prophet moved to Madinah he could not pray towards both so was commanded to pray towards Bayt al-Maqdis (Ibn Kathīr 1997 v.1:178). There is a Ḥadīth to this effect in *Musnad Ahmad* which suggests that Bayt al-Maqdis was the *Qiblah* right from the start. The Ḥadīth states: "the Prophet used to pray when he was in Makkah, to Bayt al-Maqdis and the *Ka'bah* was in between and after he migrated to Madinah he continued to do so for sixteen months..." (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.3:310). In this Ḥadīth the name mentioned is **Bayt al-Maqdis**, but it is not the wording of the Prophet. It is a report by Ibn 'Abbās on that incident. It could thus be the name used in Makkah or when Ibn 'Abbās said this narration in Madinah. It is stated here as there is a possibility that it was the term used in Makkah.

The use of the word Bayt al-Maqdis in this case applies to the direction of the Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis, not the Rock itself. As is the case with the *Ka'bah*, when Muslims are praying they must face Makkah, and when they are in Makkah they must face *al-Ḥarām* Mosque, and when they are in *al-Ḥarām* Mosque, they must face the *Ka'bah*. It is narrated that the

Prophet said: "The *Bayt* (Ka'bah) is the direction of the people in the Mosque, the Mosque is the direction of those in the *Haram* (the sacred district around Makkah), and the *Haram* is the direction of those east and west around the globe from my nation" (Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.1:180; al-Bayhaqī nd, v.2:12; al-Azraqī 2002, v.2:21). Thus when it is said that the Prophet was praying towards Bayt al-Maqdis, it means that he was praying towards the area of Bayt al-Maqdis or its walled city.<sup>4</sup> This is further supported by the fact some *Aḥādīth* state that the Prophet was praying towards al-Sham (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.1:85; Muslim 2000, v.1:212; al-Nasā'ī 2000, v.1:121). Therefore for someone far away it is more in the direction rather than to the Mosque, or the city. This means that the companions of Prophet Muhammad used to sometimes refer to Bayt al-Maqdis by using the term al-Sham. It is very clear that al-Sham here refers to Bayt al-Maqdis and its *Aknāf* (area around it) of which al-Sham is a part (al-Qazqī 2003:45).

However, this is not the only narration that mentions Bayt al-Maqdis in the early Makkan period; there are other narrations. One amongst many tells of Tamīm al-Dārī and his brother who were Christian Arabs from al-Sham, and of their visit to the Prophet. When they went to him, they were quite certain that the Muslims would conquer al-Sham, so they asked the Prophet for an endowment of some lands. The Prophet granted their request, and they started to discuss which lands they wanted. Tamīm suggested that they ask for Bayt al-Maqdis and its *Kuwar* (Ibn 'Asākir 1995, v.11: 64-65; al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.13:125-27). *Kuwar* is the plural of *Kura* which is a district or a province with many villages (sometimes as many as three hundred) and a chief town or city amongst them (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.1:54). What is implied here is that Bayt al-Maqdis has many districts and each district has many villages and its own chief town or city. But Abū Hind, Tamīm's brother, said, "I don't think we will be able to get it", so Tamīm then suggested *Bayt Jibrīn* and its *Kura* (district) (Ibn 'Asākir 1995, v.11: 64-65; al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.13:125-27). Here he mentioned *Kura* in the singular, which means a chief town or city with many villages.<sup>5</sup> They finally agreed on some villages: Hebron, *Bayt 'Aynūn*, *al-Marṭum* and *Bayt Ibrāhīm*. The Prophet documented this down and it was witnessed by 'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-

<sup>4</sup> The same can be said for *Bayt al-Maqdis*, that when they were praying towards al-Aqsa they must face al-Sham, in al-Sham they must face *Bayt al-Maqdis*, in *Bayt al-Maqdis* they must face the Mosque, and if inside the al-Aqsa Mosque they must face the top of the Rock.

<sup>5</sup> However his brother states "this is even bigger" which does not make much sense – one *Kura* bigger than many *Kuwar*! This is further clarified in chapter 8.

Muṭalib, Jahm Ibn Qays and Sharḥabīl Ibn Ḥasanah. This gives an indication of when this would have happened, i.e. before the year five of Prophethood ~8BH/615CE. Because Sharḥabīl Ibn Ḥasanah migrated to Abyssinia that year and did not return until later on after the migration to Madinah (Shurrāb). The narration continued: after the Prophet had given them the endowment he told them to come back after they heard that he had migrated. So they returned after he had migrated to Madinah, and he decreed a renewal of their endowment with the same lands but with different witnesses (Ibn ‘Asākir 1995, v.11: 64-65; al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.13:125-27). This narration is not very authentic; there are many narrations on when Tamīm and his brother came to the Prophet, some of them claiming that they would have come after the raid of Tabuk, but this might have been the second time they returned.

There is another example, which *is* authentic, of another usage of the term Bayt al-Maqdis in the early Prophetic period, after ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb became Muslim (around 7BH/616CE). Al-Arqam Ibn ‘Abd-Manaf (d. 55AH/675CE) came to the Prophet and told him that he was leaving for Bayt al-Maqdis. Prophet Muhammad asked him the reason for going, was it for business? Al-Arqam replied no, he was going for worship; so the Prophet commanded him to stay put and pray in Makkah as the reward for the prayer was far more in Makkah (al-Ḥakīm 1990, v.3: 576). The term used here is Bayt al-Maqdis, and is used twice in this narration. The first time when al-Arqam was narrating what happened would have been in Madinah, as he was narrating to his grandson. The second was part of the conversation between al-Arqam and Prophet Muhammad during the incident in Makkah. Thus this tradition also strengthens the arguments that the Arabs before Islam and in the early Prophetic period used the term Bayt al-Maqdis. Moreover, the term Bayt al-Maqdis here was understood by the Prophet to be the city, and not the Mosque. This is very clear in the Ḥadīth, when al-Arqam told the Prophet that he was going to Bayt al-Maqdis, the Prophet asked if this was for business. Therefore the Prophet thought that he was referring to the markets in Bayt al-Maqdis and not the Mosque, until al-Arqam explained that he wished to go to Bayt al-Maqdis to pray.

This was not the only term used by the Prophet –before the *hijra* (migration)– to describe this land and/or the areas around it or just parts of it. The Land of Barakah or *al-Arḍ al-lati Baraknā fīha* was introduced in the Qur’an in the early stage of Islam in Makkah well before the *hijra* to Madinah. Five verses refer to this area; one relates to the Mosque revealed in *al-Isrā’* (the Night Journey). The other four relate to the land,

which were revealed before and after *al-Isrā'*. They refer to the Israelites' inheritance (Qur'an 7:137), the route of the people of *Saba'* (Sheba) (Qur'an 34:18), Prophet Abraham's migration (Qur'an 21:71) and Prophet Solomon's travels and base (Qur'an 21:81), all of which were examined in chapter one.

There are many other verses revealed in Makkah that refer to parts of IslamicJerusalem, such as chapter *al-Tin* (Qur'an 95), which was one of the early revelations. According to many exegetes *al-Zaytūn* (the Olive) refers to Bayt al-Maqdis.<sup>6</sup> Following this, more verses were revealed about the stories of previous Prophets who dwelt in this land; the majority of the Prophetic stories were, in general, revealed in Makkah before the *hijra* to Madinah. Some of the verses, however, name and refer to specific sites within the region, as was the case with some of the sites referring to where Prophet Jesus and his Mother lived. There is a reference to some sites as *makanan sharqiyah* (an eastern place) (Qur'an 19:16), *makanan Qasiyah* (a faraway place) (19:22), *rabwatin thati qararin wa ma'in* (a high place with meadows and flowing springs) (23:50), and so on. One Chapter that was revealed half way during the Makkan period was Chapter Al-Rum (Qur'an 30). It was revealed following the Persian victory over the Romans (Byzantines) in the year 614CE in *Adna al-Ard* around the area of IslamicJerusalem and it predicts a forthcoming victory of the Byzantines over the Persians (Qur'an 30:1-4).

Other verses refer to events close to the hereafter, when the trumpet will sound. The Qur'an refers to the place where this is to happen as a *makanin Qarib* (a place nearby) (Qur'an 50:41). Many scholars of exegesis take it to be Bayt al-Maqdis and specifically the Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.11:438-9; al-Samarqandī 1997, v.4:383; al-Zamakhsharī 1997, v.3:323).

From this it is clear that well before the *al-Isrā'* a framework was in place; the Prophet talked to his companions about this blessed area, which had many Prophets dwelling there. The Prophet linked their hearts to it spiritually through these verses as well as physically through their direction of prayer on a daily basis both before and after *al-Isrā'*, from the early stages of Islam. Alongside the terms introduced in the Qur'an, there seems to be a consensus within the traditions from that period that the term used to refer to this area was Bayt al-Maqdis, and no other term is mentioned as having been used in that time. However, it could be argued that although there is no mention of other terms in the Muslim traditions, such terms could have been used or at least have been

<sup>6</sup> Al-Ṭabarī (1999, v.12:632-3); al-Zamakhsharī (1995, v.4:763); Ibn Kathīr (1997, v.4:452)



known to the Arabs at that time although they were not recorded. This is very clear in the poetry of al-A'shā mentioned above, who was contemporary to this time, when he used the name *UriShalim*. Others would have possibly used the name of the city that was then Aelia, but there is no record of this.

However, the link with Bayt al-Maqdis and the more frequent references to it were to be further emphasised through *al-Isrā'* and the following events in both Makkah and Madinah. There is therefore more literature on terms and names used then which can lead us to a better understanding of what names were used in the different periods of the life of Prophet Muhammad.

### Al-Isrā' (the Night Journey)

The Night Journey was a major milestone in the connection between Muslims and Bayt al-Maqdis. This journey produced countless narrations that relate the name used for this location at that time. Both the name of the area and the Mosque will be examined, since the journey was to Bayt al-Maqdis in general and the Mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Aqsa Mosque) in particular (Qur'an 17:1). This could cause some confusion as sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish whether it refers to the region around the city, the city itself, or to the mosque. Also sometimes the Ḥadīth is narrated by the Prophet in his own words, and other times it is paraphrased by a companion. Moreover, most of the narrations about *al-Isrā'* were narrated in Madinah by young companions, who passed them on to following generations, which means that the Prophet retold the incident and its details in Madinah after the *hijra*.<sup>7</sup>

In one of the most authentic and direct narrations, the Prophet narrated to his companions in Madinah what had happened on the night of *al-Isrā'*. He states "I was brought *al-Buraq*...and rode it until I got to Bayt al-Maqdis, then I tied it to the same ring which the Prophets tie into, then I entered the *masjid* where I prayed..." (Muslim 2000, v.1:82-3). In this Ḥadīth it is clear from the saying of the Prophet that he reached Bayt al-Maqdis the city, and then entered the Mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis. Thus it refers to two different entities (Shurrāb 1994:276). In another narration the Prophet states, "When we reached Bayt al-Maqdis, Gabriel pierced the rock and tied to it *al-Buraq*" (al-Tirmidhī 2000, v.2:795). This also implies that Prophet Muhammad was in Bayt al-

<sup>7</sup> This shows that during the later years in Madinah there was a clear emphasis on IslamicJerusalem, this could be part of Prophet Muhammad's plan for this area.



Maqdis even before entering the Mosque. Therefore in these *Aḥādīth*, Bayt al-Maqdis is surely more than the Mosque.

In some narrations, though, the name Aelia is used; it refers to the event when Prophet Muhammad was there when he was presented with two cups of drink. The Ḥadīth narrated by Abū Hurayrah states that the Prophet was presented at the night of *al-Isrā'* in Aelia with two cups (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.3:1161; Muslim 2000, v.2:880; al-Dārimī 1996, v.1:545). Although the name Aelia was used, this was not the wording of the Prophet, but an account by Abū Hurayrah of what happened that night. Thus Aelia was used by Abū Hurayrah who had probably paraphrased the Prophet's information in his own words when Sa'īd Ibn al-Musayyab heard him. In other narrations, more of this incident is mentioned: it is stated that the presentation of the cups of drink came after he had finished praying and left the Mosque (Muslim 2000, v.1: 82). The presentation of the cups, then, would not have been in the Mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis but rather in the city of Bayt al-Maqdis or its surroundings, within Aelia.

When Prophet Muhammad came back and told the tribe of *Quraysh* of his experience they rejected it. The Prophet narrated to the people of Madinah what had happened, as recorded by Jabir Ibn 'Abd Allah (d.78AH/697CE) and Abū Hurayrah (d.59AH/679CE). Jabir would have heard it in Madinah as he was a resident there and was only sixteen when the Prophet migrated; as for Abū Hurayrah he only became Muslim in the year 7AH in Madinah, therefore he heard it only in the last years of the life of the Prophet. Jabir narrates that he heard the Prophet say (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.2: 956; Muslim 2000, v.1: 88):

لما كذبتني قريش قمت في الحجر فجلا الله لي بيت المقدس فطفت أحرهم عن آياته وأنا أنظر إليه

When *Quraysh* rejected what I said, I stood in *al-Hijir* (within the *al-Haram* Mosque in Makkah) and God Showed me Bayt al-Maqdis so I started telling them about its signs (*Ayatih*) while looking at it (*ilayh*)

In another narration by Abū Hurayrah, which apart from some minor differences is very similar, he states that the Prophet said (Muslim 2000, v.1: 88):

لقد رأيتني في الحجر وقريش تسألني عن مسراي فسألني عن أشياء من بيت المقدس لم أتبتها فكربت

كربة ما كربت مثله قط قال فرفعه الله لي أنظر إليه ما يسألوني عن شيء إلا أنبأهم به

I was in *al-Hijir* and the people of *Quraysh* were asking me about my *masrā* (the place of the *al-Isrā'*), so they asked me about things in Bayt al-Maqdis which I was unsure of, so I became very worried, then God raised it to me to look at (*farafa'uh Allah li andbur ilayh*), whatever they asked me about I told them of ...

So the question is what is the Prophet referring to when he mentions the term Bayt al-Maqdis? What was raised for him, the Mosque, the city or the region?

The context of this wording is of crucial importance, since this will explain further what Prophet Muhammad was referring to. On the night of *al-Isrā'* the site of al-Aqsa Mosque had been in ruins for centuries. The city of Aelia and most of al-Sham was no longer under Byzantine control: it had been under Persian control for over eight years. The Arabs of *Quraysh* used to come to this area as merchants on their yearly trip during the summer. These Arabs were pagans and used to worship idols, and thus would have had no interest in the site of al-Aqsa, but rather in the city's markets.

In these narrations of the Ḥadīth, Prophet Muhammad was recalling what happened after he came back from his journey, a few years later in Madinah. The Prophet talks about when he returned from Bayt al-Maqdis and the idolaters of *Quraysh* did not believe him. They started to ask him about minute details, since some of them knew the area very well.

In the above narrations Prophet Muhammad used the term Bayt al-Maqdis, yet it is not clear what this referred to specifically. The various meanings it could have had are the mosque, the city, or the region. The text of the Ḥadīth refers to this term in a masculine tone. The Mosque is masculine, so is the region, but the city is feminine. Therefore the city could not be used at all; to have done so would have been ungrammatical. Had the city been meant, the following part of the text would have had to be feminine and would have read *ayatiha* and *ilayha* instead of *ayatih* and *ilayh*, and for the second narration it would have read *farafa'aha* and *ilayha* instead of *farafa'uh* and *ilayh*. The city can thus be excluded. This is so if the word *madīnat* (city), which is feminine, is added to the front of the name Bayt al-Maqdis. However, if the word *balad* (city), which is masculine, is added to the front of the name Bayt al-Maqdis, the word Bayt al-Maqdis becomes masculine. Consequently the name Bayt al-Maqdis is neutral and can be made feminine or masculine by the word which precedes it. Back to the same dilemma: was he referring to the Mosque, the city or the region?

A less authentic narration specifies that it is the Mosque that was elevated (al-Ṭabarānī nd, v.12:167-8; Ibn Abī Shaybah 1994, v.7:422-3, v.8:445; Ibn 'Asākir 1996, v.41:235). This says that Ibn 'Abbās heard the Prophet –also in Madinah– say that when he returned to Makkah from *al-Isrā'* and was certain the people would not believe him, Abū Jahil came to him and the Prophet told him what had happened. Then Abū Jahil

went and gathered the people –of *Quraysh*– and asked the Prophet to tell them what he had told him. So the Prophet said:

إني أسري بي الليلة، قالوا: إلى أين؟ قال: إلى بيت المقدس قالوا إيليا؟ قال: نعم

I have been on *al-Isrā'* tonight, so they ask to where. He replies to Bayt al-Maqdis, They said Aelia, he replied: yes...

This narration gives us a better insight into their understanding. When he mentioned that he had been to Bayt al-Maqdis, they recognised it to be the same as Aelia. They then asked him to describe the site of the Mosque, specifically. This could have been because he would have probably recited to them the verse of *al-Isrā'* which mentions al-Aqsa Mosque, or mentioned to them that he had been inside the Mosque. So the Prophet adds:

قالوا: وتستطيع أن تنعت المسجد؟ .... فجيء بالمسجد وأنا أنظر إليه

They said can you describe the Mosque?... the Mosque was brought while I was looking at it

This text is equivalent to the other two texts, mentioned earlier in which, instead of the Mosque, Bayt al-Maqdis is stated. This could mean that Bayt al-Maqdis there refers to the Mosque, as this Ḥadīth explicitly explains it, or it could mean the city or the region.

To conclude on the narrations of *al-Isrā'*: the author can safely say that the Prophet, using the term Bayt al-Maqdis, referred mostly to the city, as was even understood by the people of *Quraysh*. However the last narration, if joined with other narrations, could mean the Mosque.<sup>8</sup>

### More verses after *al-Isrā'*

More verses relating to this area were revealed after *al-Isrā'* (al-Zuhri 1988:37-42). One was the introduction of the name al-Aqsa Mosque to refer to the Mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis. There are other verses which tell, for example, the story of Prophet Joseph in *Gayabat al-Jub* (the bottom of the well) which he was thrown into within the vicinity of Bayt al-Maqdis. In the same story there is in addition a reference to Prophet Joseph's family dwelling: in *al-Badw* (the desert) (Qur'an 12:100), which was also in the vicinity of Bayt al-Maqdis.

These verses give different names of sites within Bayt al-Maqdis, mainly descriptions of the places. But they do not give the name Bayt al-Maqdis, and so are mentioned only briefly in this section.

<sup>8</sup> Verse 43:45 was revealed during the *al-Isrā'*, however it does not name or refer to any site.

### Change of Qiblah after the Hijra to Madinah

Following the migration from Makkah to Madinah, Prophet Muhammad and his companions continued to pray in the direction of Bayt al-Maqdis. However, sixteen months later Prophet Muhammad was commanded to change his *Qiblah* and face towards Makkah instead. This is mentioned in numerous *Aḥādīth*, in this section these are looked at to see what terminology was used after the migration to Madinah and whether it changed.

Most of the narrations on the change of the *Qiblah* were told by inhabitants of *Madinah* who usually used the term Bayt al-Maqdis. They were reporting on the actual event and not the sayings of the Prophet, so were using their own terminologies. Al-Bara' Ibn 'Azib (d. 71AH/690-1CE) is the main narrator for these *Aḥādīth*.<sup>9</sup> There are also narrators of *Aḥādīth* on the same topic, such as Anas Ibn Mālīk (d. 93AH/712CE) (Muslim 2000, v.1: 212; Abū Dawūd 2000, v.1: 178), 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68AH/687-8CE) (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.3:394), Mu'adh Ibn Jabal (d. 18AH/639CE) (Abū Dawūd 2000, v.1: 90) and 'Amarah Ibn 'Aws (Ibn Abī Shaybah 1994, v.1: 369). These all also use the term Bayt al-Maqdis in their narrations. However, Thuwaylah bint Aslam, when she is talking about her experience of the *Qiblah* change, uses the term Aelia (Ibn Ḥajar 1997, v.1:651). And 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar uses al-Sham<sup>10</sup> rather than Bayt al-Maqdis or Aelia to refer to the direction as opposed to the location.

After the change of *Qiblah* to Makkah, an issue was raised regarding the acceptance of the prayers of those who had died praying to Bayt al-Maqdis. The people asked the Prophet about this, using the term Bayt al-Maqdis.<sup>11</sup> This was followed by a revelation of a verse stating: "And God would never make your faith go to waste." (Qur'an 2:143)

It would thus seem that there was a continuation of the use of the term Bayt al-Maqdis, by the Prophet and his companions in the early phase in Madinah.

### The building of al-Aqsa Mosque

The building of al-Aqsa Mosque was first initiated forty years after the first construction of the *Ka'bah*, as is understood from the Ḥadīth of Abū Dhar.<sup>12</sup> This Ḥadīth was most probably narrated in Madinah, since Abū

<sup>9</sup> Al-Bukhārī 2000, v.1: 12,884; Muslim 2000, v.1: 212; al-Nasā'ī 2000, v.1: 120

<sup>10</sup> Al-Bukhārī 2000, v.1: 85; al-Dārimī 1996, v.1: 298

<sup>11</sup> Abū Dawūd 2000, v.2: 786; al-Dārimī 1996, v.1: 298; al-Ḥakīm 1990, v.2:295

<sup>12</sup> Al-Bukhārī 2000, v.2: 661, 676; Muslim 2000, v.1: 209-10; Ibn Mājah 2000: 111; al-Nasā'ī 2000, v.1: 112

Dhar al-Ghafarī, Jundub Ibn Junada only accompanied the Prophet in Madinah after the migration. He became Muslim in Makkah; nevertheless he went directly back to his tribe and stayed there until after the Prophet had migrated to Madinah. Then *he* moved to Madinah. He would not thus have had the time to sit with the Prophet under extreme circumstances in Makkah, when the message of Islam was still in its infancy, to ask him about the buildings of the early mosque. This was more likely to have happened when he accompanied the Prophet in Madinah. The word used in this Ḥadīth was *al-Masjid al-Aqsa*, though one of the narrators Abū Mu'awiyah explains that *al-Masjid al-Aqsa* is Bayt al-Maqdis to bring it closer to the understanding of his contemporaries (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.15:521).

The other Ḥadīth relates to Prophet Solomon and Bayt al-Maqdis. This Ḥadīth was narrated in Madinah, as 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣ became Muslim just before his father, before the conquest of Makkah in the year 8AH. This Ḥadīth might have been narrated at the time of the battle of Tabuk in the year 9AH. The Ḥadīth mentions that Prophet Solomon asked God for three things: two for himself and the third for the visitors of this Mosque without specifying a place (al-Hakim 1990, v.1:84, v.2:471; Ibn Ḥibān 1997, v.4:511-2). In some narrations it is noted that this is after Prophet Solomon had completed Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Nasā'ī 2000, v.1: 112; Ibn Mājah 2000:206). The narration of al-Nasā'ī, which is authentic, states (Ibn Hajar 1997, v.6: 494):

When Solomon son of David **built Bayt al-Maqdis**, he asked God for three things. He asked God for a great rule and he was granted it. And he asked God for a Kingdom that no one would have after him and he was granted it. And he asked God when he **completed the building of the Mosque**, that whosoever comes to it solely for the sake of praying in it, to be forgiven of all sin like the day he was born

But in the Ḥadīth the term used refers to a structure which is called Bayt al-Maqdis, and thus refers to something that can be built, in this case either a city or a Mosque. So Bayt al-Maqdis here cannot refer to the region as it is not something that can be built or constructed. Furthermore Bayt al-Maqdis in the beginning of the Ḥadīth refers to more than the Mosque. The wording at the start of the Ḥadīth states, "when Solomon built Bayt al-Maqdis", and at the end of the Ḥadīth the wording is "and he asked God when he completed building the *Masjid* (Mosque)". It is therefore talking about two entities, Bayt al-Maqdis and a mosque. However, the mosque is part of Bayt al-Maqdis as it is the third supplication. Accordingly it can be said that Bayt al-Maqdis here refers to the city which includes the mosque within it.

Ibn Mājah named the section for this Ḥadīth as: "what is said about praying in the Mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis"; as for al-Nasā'ī he names the section: "the virtue of praying in al-Aqsa Mosque" (Ibn Mājah 2000:206; al-Nasā'ī 2000, v.1:112). So Ibn Mājah tries to distinguish between Bayt al-Maqdis and the mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis, as does al-Nasā'ī when he equates the mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis to al-Aqsa Mosque.

### Visit only three mosques

Prophet Muhammad told his followers that they could only set off for three mosques with the sole object of visiting; he named the *al-Ḥarām* Mosque in Makkah, his mosque in Madinah, and al-Aqsa Mosque in Islamic Jerusalem. Al-Aqsa Mosque is the focal point of Bayt al-Maqdis, and is referred to by various names in the *Aḥādīth* of *shadd al-Riḥāl* (setting off) to the three mosques. All these *Aḥādīth* were narrated in Madinah after the *hijra* (migration) for two reasons. The first is that except for a few most of the narrators would have only met the Prophet in Madinah after the *hijra*. The second reason is that the second mosque mentioned in the Ḥadīth, the mosque of the Prophet, was only built after the *hijra*, so surely these *Aḥādīth* could not have been said in Makkah.

In most of these *Aḥādīth* the mosque is referred to with the Qur'anic terminology *al-Masjid al-Aqsa* (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.1:223; Muslim 2000, v.1:548; al-Tirmidhī 2000, v.1:98), although some narrations use other terms. In the narration from Abū Hurayrah mentioned in Muslim (2000, v.1:567), it is said that the Prophet used the term *masjid Iliyā'* (Mosque of Aelia). This would have been said by the Prophet in the later years in Madinah as Abū Hurayrah became Muslim in the year 7AH/628CE. Therefore the Prophet used the term Aelia, the Byzantine name for the region, and was aware of it. Another name used to refer to al-Aqsa Mosque is *masjid Bayt al-Maqdis* (Mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis) (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.10:144). This is similar to *masjid Iliyā'*; in both cases the Mosque is associated with the name of a place, Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis. But could both these names be synonyms of the same name? This is also the case in two other narrations where the narrator equates both *masjid Iliyā'* and Bayt al-Maqdis (Mālik 2000:36-7). Therefore it can be said that the mosque is part of Bayt al-Maqdis also known as Aelia.

On the other hand, in two other narrations al-Aqsa Mosque is referred to as Bayt al-Maqdis without the word *masjid* (Mosque) used beforehand (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.10:293). In these narrations Bayt al-Maqdis most likely does not apply to the city or the region since the start of the Ḥadīth clearly refers to the three mosques: it states, "only set off to three mosques" and then names them. Therefore in these two narrations Bayt

al-Maqdis refers only to al-Aqsa Mosque. This is further supported by another Ḥadīth where the Prophet was saying farewell to a man and asked him where he was heading; he replied Bayt al-Maqdis. The Prophet replied saying that a prayer in this mosque –the Prophet's Mosque– is better than a thousand prayers in any other except *al-Ḥarām* Mosque (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.10:243). So the understanding of the Prophet, in this case, when the man told him he was heading for Bayt al-Maqdis, was that he was talking about the mosque – unless it was a passing comment about the city and its mosque.

From the above narrations it can be observed that al-Aqsa Mosque was referred to as Bayt al-Maqdis, something that we have already noticed in previous *Aḥādīth*. But it was referred to also as the mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis and the mosque of Aelia, which was more popular in these *Aḥādīth* than Bayt al-Maqdis alone.

### Abū Sufyān in Aelia

Following the peace treaty between *Quraysh* and the Muslims in the year 6AH/628CE, Prophet Muhammad started to write to world rulers inviting them to Islam. One of these rulers was the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, who had just reconquered Aelia from the Persians. When the letter reached him, he asked to meet someone from Arabia. Coincidentally Abū Sufyān (d.32AH/652-3CE), one of *Quraysh's* chief tribesmen, was nearby and was asked to come to Heraclius in Aelia. Abū Sufyān narrates the full story and it is narrated in many of the Books of Ḥadīth (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.1:4-6; Muslim 2000, v.2:772-3). He had a very good knowledge of the area of al-Sham as he was a tradesman and used to travel very frequently to the area. In the narration Abū Sufyān uses the Byzantine name Aelia, which he would have been well acquainted with, as well as with other names and terms.

In the same narration Abū Sufyān states that Heraclius walked to Bayt al-Maqdis. Here Bayt al-Maqdis would in no way mean the mosque, as this was not holy to the Christians; rather he would be walking to the most sacred site for Christianity within the walled city, namely, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Therefore in this case Bayt al-Maqdis would refer to the city of Aelia Capitolina.

### After the Take-over of Makkah

A man came to the Prophet on the day he took-over Makkah in 8AH/630CE, and told him Prophet that he had vowed if God helped the Prophet and the believers to enter Makkah victorious he would pray in Bayt al-Maqdis (Abū Dawūd 2000, v.2:570; al-Sanʿanī nd: v.8, 395-6).



The man used the name Bayt al-Maqdis when telling the Prophet about this. The Prophet replied just pray here; the man however insisted and the Prophet replied it's your business. In other narrations the Prophet told him to go and pray in it, telling him that had, however, he prayed here it would have compensated for every prayer in Bayt al-Maqdis (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.16:544). The Prophet also used the term Bayt al-Maqdis in the discussion. But they are referring to a place of prayer, so this could be al-Aqsa Mosque. Nevertheless it could have been referring to the city or the region, as al-Aqsa Mosque is its central part and its main mosque. As is the case with Makkah or Madinah; when a person states that he is going to pray in Makkah or Madinah; this means that he is going to pray within the area of Makkah or Madinah in general and in its main mosque in particular. This would be the case for Bayt al-Maqdis too, i.e. that it is the area in general and the mosque in particular as it is the place where reward is multiplied.<sup>13</sup>

### Tamīm al-Dārī

Tamīm al-Dārī was Christian, and it is said he came to the Prophet again from al-Sham. He was certain that the Prophet would take over his lands, and so asked him to write down an endowment of some villages in southern al-Sham. The Prophet recorded this for him, in the document known as the *waqf* of Tamīm (Endowment of Tamīm), naming some towns and villages such as Hebron, *Bayt 'Aynūn*, *al-Marṭum* and others (See section on "First connections" also Shurāb 1990: 124-137).

### Al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah

In addition to the Qur'anic terminology "Land of Barakah" that would have been used by the Prophet in Makkah as well as in Madinah, a further term was introduced in the Qur'an and used by the Prophet, *al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah* (Holy Land). This would have occurred towards the end of the Prophet's life. This chapter (5: al-Mā'idah) was revealed in Madinah and was one of the last chapters to be revealed (al-Zarkashī 1998, v.1: 194). The term was also used by the Prophet on numerous occasions. There are a number of *Aḥādīth*, all of which seem to have taken place towards the end of his life in Madinah. One relates to the death of Prophet Moses in which Prophet Muhammad mentions that Prophet Moses asked God to bring him close to the Holy Land as he

<sup>13</sup> The mosque at that time was in ruins and it doesn't make sense that he was going to pray in it; however, this man's vow seems to have been based on it merits.



was about to die.<sup>14</sup> The Ḥadīth was narrated by Abū Hurayrah (d. 59AH/679CE) who only became Muslim in the year 7AH in Madinah as mentioned earlier, thus just a few years before the death of Prophet Muhammad.

Another Ḥadīth narrated by Samrah Ibn Jundub (d. 59AH/679CE), who would have been young when the Prophet passed away, says that Prophet Muhammad after asking them about their dreams said that he saw that two men came to him and took him to al-Arḍ al-Muqaddasah (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.1:259-60).

In another narration ‘Abdallah Ibn Ḥawalah (d.58AH/678CE), who was from amongst the Anṣar (helpers in Madinah), narrates that Prophet Muhammad sent them on an expedition and when they came back exhausted, the Prophet placed his hand on ‘Abdallah's head and told him "when the Caliphate is in al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah then tribulations... are near" (Abū Dawūd 2000, v.2:435).

Another Ḥadīth narrated by Abū Dhar (d. 32AH/652-3CE), tells of when he was with the Prophet in Madinah; this would have been after the year 5AH when he settled in Madinah. He was asked by the Prophet what he would do if he had to leave Madinah and Makkah and he replied he would head to al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.16:19).

Thus from all these narrations, it becomes clear that Prophet Muhammad used this term only in Madinah. However it is not clear if he only used it after its Qur’anic introduction or beforehand. But it is most likely that he used it after it was introduced by the Qur’an, since much of the narration indicates that it was towards the end of his life. Since he never used it in Makkah or even in his early years in Madinah, it may be taken to have been used by the Prophet after the Qur’anic revelation of the term.<sup>15</sup>

### **Ḥadīth in Tabuk (faṭḥ Bayt al-Maqdis)**

The furthest northern expedition led by Prophet Muhammad was Tabuk –now in northern Saudi Arabia. During this expedition, and while he was in Tabuk in the year 9AH/630CE, ‘Awf Ibn Mālīk came to the Prophet's tent. The Prophet told him to count six incidents between then and the Day of Judgment. The first was the death of the Prophet, the second the *Faṭḥ* (conquest) of Bayt al-Maqdis, and he then named four other incidents (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.2:621; Ibn Mājah 2000:587). This is narrated in fourteen different narrations, all of which mention

<sup>14</sup> Al-Bukhārī 2000, v.1:250; Muslim 2000, v.2:1014

<sup>15</sup> This again shows a clear emphasis on Islamic Jerusalem in the last days in Madinah.

that the Prophet used the name Bayt al-Maqdis; however, in one narration aside from the other fourteen, the name mentioned was Aelia (al-Ṭabarānī nd, v.18:66). This will not be taken into consideration as it is a weaker narration, and was possibly the words of one of the narrators rather than those of the Prophet.

The *Fath* of Bayt al-Maqdis here refers to both the region and the city, possibly also the mosque. However the mosque at the time was in ruins, and thus it would not make sense to say that this second major incident would be the conquering of a ruined site. This terminology *Fath* (conquest) would apply to cities and regions, and so it could apply to either or both. It is similar to talking about the *Fath* of Makkah; it does not mean taking over the mosque, rather it refers to the city and its region the *Haram*.

Also the context in which this was said is very important, as knowing it would help in understanding the circumstances. Prophet Muhammad had set out to fight the Byzantines; he reached Tabuk where he camped and this Ḥadīth was narrated. Soon after the Prophet got back to Madinah, he prepared another army –to be lead by 'Usamah ibn Zayd<sup>16</sup>– and then became very ill and later passed away; within six years of his death his companions conquered Bayt al-Maqdis. The Prophet thus knew that Bayt al-Maqdis would not be conquered during his lifetime as he explicitly states in the rest of the Ḥadīth mentioned above.

### Prophet Joshua marching to Bayt al-Maqdis

Prophet Muhammad talked about previous prophets, and said that some were related to Bayt al-Maqdis. One example was a prophet for whom the sunset was delayed while he was conquering a town (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.2:607; Muslim 2000, v.2:758; Ibn Ḥanbal 2000, v.8:247-8). In these narrations the who and the where are unknown, but in another authentic narration the name of the prophet and the place are known. The Ḥadīth states that Prophet Muhammad said, "The Sun was not held for any human except Yousha' (Joshua) when he was marching towards Bayt al-Maqdis." (Ibn Ḥanbal 2000, v.8:275) The Prophet used the term Bayt al-Maqdis when addressing the area Joshua was marching to conquer. It is well known that Joshua is associated with the conquest of Jericho and not the walled city of Bayt al-Maqdis. This is clarified in a later chapter, where Jericho is taken to be part of Bayt al-Maqdis. Therefore this Ḥadīth is referring to the region of Bayt al-Maqdis.

<sup>16</sup> In this raid the Prophet named locations within the region such as Ubna, al-Darūm amongst others, these were around a location of a previous battle namely Mu'ta.

### Prophet John in Bayt al-Maqdis

Another Prophet, whom Prophet Muhammad talked about in relation to Bayt al-Maqdis, is Prophet Yahya (John). Prophet Muhammad said that Prophet John was given five orders to promulgate and command the children of Israel to implement. So he gathered the people in Bayt al-Maqdis and the mosque filled up to the terraces; he then spoke the commands to them (al-Tirmidhī 2000, v.2:721-2; al-Ḥakīm 1990, v.1:204-5). In the Ḥadīth Prophet Muhammad referred to the place where Prophet John gathered the people as Bayt al-Maqdis. This could not be a region, as it would not be possible to fill up a region for a speech, nor could it be a large city for the same reason. However, this could be the case for a mosque; the Ḥadīth explicitly states that it refers to a mosque. It goes on to say that the mosque became fully packed until people overflowed onto the terraces. In this Ḥadīth, therefore, Prophet Muhammad referred to the mosque as Bayt al-Maqdis.

### The Land of Raising and Gathering

The Prophet was asked by Maymūnah bint al-Ḥarith about Bayt al-Maqdis; he told her, it is the land of raising and gathering (Ibn Mājah 2000:206; Abū Dawūd 2000, v.1:80). From this sentence he is obviously referring to a large area, as the term used is *Arḍ* (land), which cannot be used to refer to a small area or a city; rather it would refer to a large area that could include many cities. This is supported further by other *Aḥādīth* that refers to al-Sham as the land of the raising and gathering.

However, the second part of the Ḥadīth states "go and pray in it, as a prayer in it is equal to one thousand times a prayer in any other." When the Prophet was further asked if a person would not be able to get to it, the Prophet added "send oil to light it." This restricts the meaning of the Ḥadīth to the mosque only, and cannot be used for the city or the region since the text has a masculine structure, not the feminine one needed when speaking about the city.

Nevertheless the first part of the Ḥadīth can be taken to refer to the region generally, with the second part referring specifically to the mosque. This is further supported by another Ḥadīth narrated by Abū Dhar, in which he asks the Prophet: Which is better, a prayer in the mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis or the mosque of the Prophet (in Madinah)? The Prophet replied that his mosque was four times better; however, a time would come where a place to see Bayt al-Maqdis from would be better than the whole world (al-Ḥakīm 1990, v.4:554; al-Hindī 1998, v.12:115). In some of the narrations, in the Prophet's reply he states: "ولنعم المصلى في أرض الحشر والمشر" "*wala ni'ma al-Muṣallā fī Arḍ al-Maḥshar wal-Manshar*"

that it is an admirable place of worship in the land of gathering and raising (al-Hindī 1998, v.12:115). Which implies that this land is much more than the mosque; the mosque is only a small part of it.

### Starting off on Pilgrimage from Bayt al-Maqdis

One of Prophet Muhammad's wives, Umm Salamah, whom the Prophet married in Madinah in the year 4AH, narrated that she heard the Prophet say that whosoever set off for *Hajj* (pilgrimage) or *Ummrah* (lesser-pilgrimage) from al-Aqsa Mosque would be forgiven or guaranteed Paradise.<sup>17</sup> This refers to the commencing of *Iḥrām* (state of sacredness) from this site. However, there are just as many *Aḥādīth* where the name al-Aqsa Mosque is replaced by Bayt al-Maqdis.<sup>18</sup> The question here is, what does Bayt al-Maqdis refer to in these narrations –could it be a synonym for al-Aqsa Mosque? It could actually refer to the city or even further to cover the region.

In some of the narrations which mention al-Aqsa Mosque, the narrator from Umm Salamah is Ḥakimah bint Umayyah and the narrator from Ḥakimah mentions that when she heard this Ḥadīth, she set off directly for Bayt al-Maqdis for *Ummrah* (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.18:260-1). Although the term used in the Ḥadīth is al-Aqsa Mosque, the term used here is Bayt al-Maqdis. It is similar to saying that someone is going to Makkah; it also implies that he is going to the mosque, and this is a similar case in the Ḥadīth of Umm-Salamah, namely, that it would be referring to the city if not the general region.

### People steadfast

In more than seventy-five narrations in the books of Ḥadīth, it is said that Prophet Muhammad talked about a group of people steadfast in the truth throughout time (al-Qazqī 2003: 179-210). However some of the narrations specify where they are. In one Ḥadīth it said that they are *Ahl al-Gharb* (the people of the West) (Muslim 2000, v.2:841). However the exegetists do not agree about what this means. There are many claims that it is the Arabs, people in al-Sham, people of Bayt al-Maqdis and people of strength. However, some of the *Aḥādīth* explicitly mention al-Sham as being the place of this group (al-Nasā'ī 2000, v.2:588; Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.14:433). Moreover, some Ḥadīth say it is Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Ṭabarānī nd, v.8:145) and its *Aknaf* (the area around) (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.16:270).

<sup>17</sup> Abū Dawūd 2000, v.1:298; al-Daraqutnī 1998, v.1:221; al-Bukhārī 2001, v.1:161;

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Mājah 2000, v.1:161; al-Daraqutnī 1998, v.1:161

The wording of the Ḥadīth states that these people are in Bayt al-Maqdis, which would obviously not refer to the mosque, since people do not live in the mosque. Therefore it is either the city or the region or both. As the Ḥadīth is talking about a place and its *aknāf* (surrounding), it can be said that Bayt al-Maqdis here refers to the region of Bayt al-Maqdis and its *Aknāf* is the region of al-Sham.

This is further supported by another narration which mentions some of their characteristics; it says that Prophet Jesus will come to them and join them (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.11:524). In another it states that they will fight the *dajāl* (Antichrist) (al-Ḥakim 1990, v.4:497). It is known from other *Aḥādīth* that the *dajāl* will be killed by Prophet Jesus (Ibn Mājah 2000: 595-6). All these tie in together to give the conclusion that this group is in the region of Bayt al-Maqdis and its *Aknāf*, which would include other parts of al-Sham.

### Bayt al-Maqdis flourishing

As regards some future events, it is narrated that Prophet Muhammad has mentioned that Bayt al-Maqdis will flourish, and its flourishing will mean the deterioration of *Yathrib* (Madinah), close to the end of time (Abū Dawūd 2000, v.2:715-6). Bayt al-Maqdis here is equated to a city, *Yathrib*. It is most likely that, in this Ḥadīth, the reference is to the city of Bayt al-Maqdis and not to its mosque or its region; they could however be part of the flourishing of the city.

### Between Bayt al-Maqdis and the Ka'bah

It is narrated that Prophet Muhammad said that he would have a pool in Paradise extending the same distance as from *Ka'bah* to Bayt al-Maqdis (Ibn Mājah 2000:632). In this Ḥadīth Bayt al-Maqdis is equated to the *Ka'bah*; thus here Bayt al-Maqdis would be referring to the mosque in particular and not the city or the region.

### Other Aḥādīth

In addition to the above narrations there are as many more again on this topic, but they are not as authentic. Some use the name *Aelia* to refer to the city or the region (al-Tirmidhī 2000, v.2:584), others use the name Bayt al-Maqdis and the term *masjid* Bayt al-Maqdis to refer to the mosque (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.9:578), while others use the name Bayt al-Maqdis to refer to the city or the region (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.13:99; Ibn Abī Shaybah 1994, v.8:657; al-Hindī 1996, v.14:141-2; Ibn Mājah 2000:595-7; al-Ṭabarānī 1999, v.1:302). These narrations give similar indications to these in the authentic narrations adding nothing new to the argument, so further discussion of them will cease here. In weak narrations the

wordings are also weak, the narrator being able to use a name of his time rather than the one mentioned by the Prophet. This is very clear in some *Abādith*, which use names not used by the Prophet, such as *al-Quds*, in *Musnad Ahmad*. This is discussed further in the next chapter to discover when it was modified.

## Conclusion

It can now be understood that Prophet Muhammad used more than one name. He mainly used Bayt al-Maqdis in the majority of the narrations, as well as being aware of other names used in that era, such as Aelia, which he rarely used though his companions used it frequently. In the early Prophetic period, there is only evidence of the use of the name Bayt al-Maqdis, but more terms were introduced in the Qur'an before and after *al-Isrā'*. This name continued to be used after *al-Isrā'* together with the other Qur'anic terminologies also introduced, such as al-Aqsa Mosque to refer to the mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis. Following the migration to Madinah, it is evident that the term Bayt al-Maqdis continued to be used throughout by the Prophet until his death, as well as his rare use of the term Aelia. He was also aware of specific sites within the region, as he named some in some documents and ordered armies into specific sites.

As for the meaning of Bayt al-Maqdis in the *Abādith* of the Prophet, it is clear that he used it interchangeably to refer to the mosque, the city and the region. It referred to the mosque explicitly in the case of Prophet John. Also it explicitly referred to the city in the story of *al-Isrā'*. Finally, it explicitly referred to the region when it referred to the Conquest of Bayt al-Maqdis. There are many cases for each of these, as have been discussed. To conclude, it is safe to say that Prophet Muhammad used the term Bayt al-Maqdis to refer to all three, though each must be read within its context.

## First Muslim phase

### Proposed burial in Bayt al-Maqdis

When the Prophet was on his death-bed he was constantly ordering that the army be sent into al-Sham, specifically to areas within Palestina Prima and Tertia. But he passed away before this came about. The companions were faced with another issue after Prophet Muhammad's death: the place of his burial. There was a disagreement amongst them concerning the site of this. The Makkans wanted to bury him in Makkah, the place of his birth. The people of Madinah wanted to bury

him in Madinah, the place of migration and where he settled. Another group wanted to move him to Bayt al-Maqdis, this being the place where Prophets are buried. They finally agreed to bury him in Madinah, on the site of his house where he passed away (al-Sharastanī nd, v.1:12; Ibn al-‘Ibrī nd:48). This was after Abū Bakr mentioned to them a saying of the Prophet, that a Prophet is buried on the site where he dies. From the conversation it is clear that those who suggested burying him in Bayt al-Maqdis obviously did not mean the mosque or the city in particular: they must have meant the whole. Because Prophets are known to be buried within the region and not necessarily in the walled city of Bayt al-Maqdis. Moreover, not many are known to be buried within the city or its close vicinity but rather further away, such as Abraham in Hebron, and others who are scattered around the region.<sup>19</sup> Also they certainly could not have meant the mosque as it was not common at that time for anyone to be buried within a mosque.

### Abū Bakr

Abū Bakr succeeded Prophet Muhammad in leading the Muslims, as well as in directing the armies into al-Sham (Historical Syria). First by sending the army of ‘*Usamah Ibn Zayd*’—which was commissioned by the Prophet—directly after the Prophet was buried, to the sites he had named in Palestina Tertia and possibly Prima<sup>20</sup>. On their return, Abū Bakr commissioned another four armies and directed them into the region. He directed one of them toward the regions of Palestine and Aelia, telling the Commander in Chief of this army ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Āṣ (al-Wāqidi nd: 31):

عليك بفلسطين وإيلياء

You are assigned for Palestine and Aelia (‘*Alayka bi-Filistīn wa-Iliya*’)

In addition, one of the soldiers states, "I was in the Army ... sent to Palestine and Aelia" (al-Wāqidi nd: 31). Furthermore, in another text, Abū Bakr again uses the term Aelia; he commanded ‘Amr to take the route to Aelia until he reaches Palestine (al-Wāqidi nd: 29). From these texts it can be understood that Abū Bakr was referring to the region of Aelia (El-Awaisi 2003: 30-31; El-Awaisi 2005:30).

<sup>19</sup> This is in addition to the fact Muslims had not yet gained control over the region. Were they thinking to bury him in the fringes of the region, where they had already encountered the Byzantines at Mu’ta for example?

<sup>20</sup> The Prophet named to ‘Usamah the sites of *Yubnā* and *al-Darūm*, on the borders of Islamic Jerusalem close to Mu’ta (Omar 2005:60-2) in Palestine Tertia. Others believe them to be in Palestina Prima, close to Ramla and Gaza (Shurrāb 1994)



After one of the first encounters in Palestine ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Āṣ questioned some of the Arab prisoners and they told him, "O fellow Arabs, Rubīs has come to you with one hundred thousand knights and the king commanded him not to let any of you Arabs reach Aelia" (al-Wāqidi nd: 35). In this text Aelia most likely referred to the region rather than the city, as ‘Amr had entered Palestina Tertia, and Rubīs came down to them in Palestina Tertia before they entered Palestina Prima. A fierce battle followed between ‘Amr and Rubīs which took place in *Dathin*<sup>21</sup> (Al-Balādhurī 1987: 151). Following this battle ‘Amr wrote to Abū ‘Ubaydah informing him that he had conquered Palestine; he said: "... I have arrived at the land of Palestine and fought the Roman Army with a Patriarch called Rubīs with a hundred thousand knights and God has granted us victory ... and God has allowed the conquest of Palestine under my command..." (al-Wāqidi nd:38-39). From this it is clear that he was saying that he had conquered the whole of Palestine, when in fact he had not yet approached the area containing Aelia. This strengthens the argument that Aelia was a separate entity from Palestine, and Palestine in this case refers to Palestina Tertia (El-Awaisi 2003: 31).

Abū Bakr sent more reinforcements to the armies in al-Sham. One of these was the army of Khalid Ibn al-Walīd, which was in Iraq. In the letter sent by Abū Bakr to Khalid, he said: "Hurry to your brothers in al-Sham, by Allah, a *qaryah*<sup>22</sup> (town) amongst the *Qurā* (towns) from *Ard al-Maqdis*, Allah helps us conquer, is better to me than the conquest of a great province from the provinces of Iraq" (Ibn al-Murajjā 1995:55). This is the first reference to this area as *Ard al-Maqdis* (the land of *al-Maqdis*). From this statement it can be understood that *Ard al-Maqdis* was a vast area, had many *qura* ‘towns’, and could be equated to the land of Bayt al-Maqdis.

### ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb

‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb succeeded Abū Bakr in leading the Muslims, and commanding their armies’ specifically in al-Sham. ‘Umar followed in the steps of Abū Bakr in conquering Aelia. Already the armies had won several battles and taken some areas and made treaties with others, and it is said that ‘Umar became the Caliph on the day of the victory over Damascus (al-Wāqidi nd:132-33). Following the conquest of Damascus,

<sup>21</sup> *Dathin* is known today as *Khirbat al-Dimaytha* south of Gaza City situated five km east of *Dir al-Balah* (Shurrāb 1994:78)

<sup>22</sup> The word *qaryah* in Arabic does not imply its modern meaning ‘village’, rather it denotes a town or a city.



Abū 'Ubaydah sent 'Amr to the land of Jordan and Palestine (al-Azdī 1970: 106-07); he was hesitant whether to head towards Aelia or Antioch. He asked, "Should I head with the army to Bayt al-Maqdis, as it is their greatest city and holds the throne of the Roman kingdom and is where their religion started off?" On the other hand he asked, "Or should I head to Antioch and head for Heraclius and finish him off?" (al-Wāqidī nd:137) After another small incident at *Dir abī al-Quds* he was still unsure, so he wrote to 'Umar explaining the situation and asking where to head to: Heraclius or Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Wāqidī nd:151).

From these texts it is clear that the name used by Abū 'Ubaydah was Bayt al-Maqdis; he used it to refer to Aelia Capitolina (the walled city), as he shows clearly when saying "It is their greatest city."

Moreover, Abū 'Ubaydah moved to Jordan where some battles took place such as *Fahl*, which led to many treaties for the region of Jordan. Following this Abū 'Ubaydah gave a speech in which he said, "... I was planning to head with you to the people of Aelia and the people of Caesarea, however I hate to attack them in their city while they are well prepared and fortified..." (Al-Azdī 1970: 143). He decided instead to go back to Damascus and from there to attack Homs, and he left 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣ in charge of Jordan and some of the land of Palestine (Al-Azdī 1970: 144). After conquering Homs, the Byzantines sent massive armies to wipe out the Muslims. The Muslims for tactical reasons withdrew from the cities they conquered (Al-Azdī 1970: 155-56). When the people from parts of Palestine and Jordan who were under the control of 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣ heard of the Byzantine advances and the Muslim withdrawals, they broke their treaties. Following this, 'Amr wrote this to Abū 'Ubaydah, "... The people of Aelia and a lot of the people of *al-Urdun* (Jordan) have broken the treaties..." (al-Azdī 1970:162). The reference to Aelia probably referred to people within the region and not the city, as the city was not conquered nor did it have any truces at the time of this letter. However, the reference may have been to some of the other cities within the region of Aelia.

'Amr Ibn al-Āṣ used the name Aelia frequently. During one of his speeches he said "... everyone must prepare to march with me to the people of Aelia..." He later called upon his army and said, "Let us head to Aelia", then marched towards the land of Aelia (al-Azdī 1970:164). He also wrote to the Patriarchs of Aelia, saying: "... from 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣ to the Patriarchs of Aelia..." (al-Azdī 1970:165). This might also refer to Aelia as the region, as he mentioned the Patriarchs in the plural and so was possibly addressing all the Patriarchs of the region of Aelia, who may have been gathered in the city. However, there could have

been more than one Patriarch to the city, which would mean that he meant the city only. The Patriarchs, however, rejected his offer as they had also heard of the Byzantine advances and the Muslim withdrawals.

Following this the Muslims withdrew all their forces and relocated to the Jordan valley. This was the site of the decisive battle of *Yarmūk*, in which the Muslims defeated the Byzantines and their allied forces. Following the victory, Abū 'Ubaydah sent messengers to the people of Aelia to come out so he could give them assurances of safety. But they did not do so (al-Azdī 1970:242-43). It is mentioned in the account that he sent messengers (in plural) and not just one messenger, so possibly he sent a number of messengers to different sites within Aelia. However, after receiving no replies, he wrote a letter to the people of Aelia, saying: "...from Abū 'Ubaydah 'Āmir Ibn al-Jarraḥ to the Patriarchs of the people of Aelia and its population..." (al-Azdī 1970:242-43). In the letter he mentions the Patriarchs of the people of Aelia rather than Aelia alone. This seems to refer to the Patriarchs of the inhabitants of Aelia around the region. Following this letter Abū 'Ubaydah wrote to 'Umar informing him of the victory at *Yarmūk* and this development, saying: "...I have sent to the people of Aelia inviting them to Islam..." (al-Azdī 1970:244).

The Muslims could not decide whether to head for Caesarea or Bayt al-Maqdis. It was suggested that a letter be sent to Caliph 'Umar on this issue for his opinion. So Abū 'Ubaydah wrote another letter to 'Umar informing him of both opinions, and they awaited his command. When 'Umar received the letter he read it to the Muslims in Madinah and sought their advice. Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib advised that the army should advance to Bayt al-Maqdis and once they conquered it then advance into Caesarea which would also be conquered, as he had been informed by the Prophet. 'Umar agreed with the opinion of Ali and wrote to Abū 'Ubaydah: "... I have received your letter in which you are asking counsel on which direction to advance; the Prophet's cousin has advised that you advance to Bayt al-Maqdis, so God may allow its conquering under your leadership..." (al-Wāqidī nd: 318-19). Also in one of 'Umar's replies he mentioned the booty from *Yarmūk* which was gathered in *al-Jabiyah*: "Don't do anything with it until you conquer Bayt al-Maqdis" (al-Ya'qūbī nd, v.2:142).

The people of Aelia did not accept his offer, so Abū 'Ubaydah dispatched the army and besieged them (al-Azdī 1970:244-45). Abū 'Ubaydah despatched thirty five thousand soldiers in seven separate armies. He told them to advance towards Bayt al-Maqdis, and gave specific instructions to some of the armies. He told the commander of

the second army: "Once you approach *balad Iliyā'* (city of Aelia) raise your voices with *takbir* (saying Allah Akbar: God is the greatest)..." As for the third army, he commanded them to "march towards Bayt al-Maqdis and once reaching it, besiege it." As for the fourth army, he commanded its leader to besiege its Citadel (al-Wāqidi nd:318-19). It can be seen here that two terms were used: the first and most frequent Bayt al-Maqdis, the second *balad Iliyā'* (city of Aelia). These terminologies refer to the same place –Aelia Capitolina (the walled city); here it was called Bayt al-Maqdis and also called *balad Iliyā'*, which could be a translation of the Latin Aelia Capitolina.

After a few months, the people within the city decided to surrender on condition this be to the Caliph 'Umar. Abū 'Ubaydah wrote to 'Umar, saying, "... and we are besieging the people of *Madinat Iliyā'* (City of Aelia)..." (al-Wāqidi nd:326). In another version of the letter he says "...and we are sieging Aelia..." (al-Azdī 1970:248). Once 'Umar received the letter he read it to the Muslims in Madinah and sought their advice. 'Uthman Ibn 'Afan suggested he did not go; in his reply he said, "...and our men are besieging *Madinat Iliyā'* (City of Aelia)..." (al-Wāqidi nd:327). On the other hand, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭalīb advised the contrary, namely that he should go so that the city was conquered (al-Wāqidi nd:327-28), which he did. It is clear from the letter and the discussion that they were talking only about Aelia Capitolina (the walled city), which they refer to in many forms, *Madinat Iliyā'*, *Iliyā'* and Bayt al-Maqdis.

Umar then headed towards Aelia with a large number of companions, nobles from both the *muhajirūn* (migrants), and the *Anṣār* (supporters) (al-Azdī 1970: 250). The scouts of Abū 'Ubaydah were looking out to see if 'Umar had arrived. 'Umar saw them and called them and asked what they wanted. They replied, "O commander of the faithful, we have been eagerly awaiting your arrival so that God may allow the conquest of Bayt al-Maqdis by your hand" (al-Wāqidi nd:330). 'Umar then conquered the city and decreed to its people the well-known 'Umar's Assurance of Safety (*al-'Uhda al-'Umarīyah*). In its lines it states, as narrated by al-Ṭabarī (1998:191):

هذا ما أعطى عبد الله عمر أمير المؤمنين أهل إيليا...ولا يسكن بإيلياء أحد من اليهود ... وعلى أهل إيليا أن يعطوا الجزية...وعليه مثل ما على أهل إيليا من الجزية... ومن أحب من أهل إيلياء .. وعليه مثل ما على أهل إيليا من الجزية ...

This is what was granted by the servant of God, 'Umar, the commander of the faithful, to the people of Aelia ... and no Jew must reside in Aelia... and the people of Aelia must pay the *Jizyah*... And to them apply the same *Jizyah* as the people of Aelia... and those people of Aelia who would like... And to them apply the same *Jizyah* as the people of Aelia ...

It is seen from 'Umar's Assurance of Safety<sup>23</sup> that 'Umar uses the name Aelia five times; it was mostly used in the form *Ahl Iliyā'* (the people of Aelia), as well as *Iliyā'* on its own. The reference here is to the walled city (Aelia Capitolina). In other versions of the text, similar terminologies are used, for instance *Ahl Madinat Iliyā'* (the people of the city of Aelia) (Ibn al-Biṭriq 1905, v.2:16; Abū-Munshar 2003:140). The use of the word *Madinat* leaves us in no doubt that the city was meant here. However, in one narration it is said that *Ahl Bayt al-Maqdis* was used (al-Ya'qūbī nd, v.2:147), which would seem to be an alteration by the author as all the others agree that the name Aelia was used. Also al-Ya'qūbī is known to be unreliable in his narrations (Shurrāb 1994:88). Moreover, the fact that the people of Aelia were not Arabic speakers means that the name Bayt al-Maqdis in Arabic would be strange to them; they were using the Latin names Aelia and Aelia Capitolina. Also the Muslims used to write assurances to people with their city name unaltered. However, when anyone reports an event he normally reports it in his own words, as was the case with Ka'b who said that 'Umar left after he wrote a decree to *ahl* Bayt al-Maqdis (the people of Bayt al-Maqdis) and gave them assurances on their city on the condition they pay the *Jizyah* (tax) (al-Wāqidī nd: 339). Thus Ka'b reports it in his own words while, on the contrary, al-Ya'qūbī writes it in a way that it seems to be a quotation of the agreement. Moreover, there are other flaws in the text of al-Ya'qūbī (Shurrāb 1994: 88)<sup>24</sup>.

What strengthens the meaning that the assurance was only to the city and not to the region is that other towns and cities around Aelia Capitolina were given similar assurances, such as Lud (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.4:191). In addition, al-Ṭabarī quotes with the Assurance of Safety contemporaries as having said (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.4:191):

صالح عمر أهل إيلياء بالجالية، وكتب لهم فيها الصلح لكل كورة كتاباً واحداً، ما خلا أهل إيلياء... فأما سائر كتبهم فعلى كتاب لُد.

'Umar made the peace treaty with the people of Aelia in *al-Jābiyah* and he issued a treaty for every single town, except the people of Aelia ... All their other treaties are the same as the treaty of Lud...

This means that he wrote to the people of every town and city within Aelia (the region) their own accords in *al-Jābiyah*. Nevertheless, this

<sup>23</sup> A full translation can be found in El-Awaisi (2005:72-4)

<sup>24</sup> One example is that al-Ya'qūbī does not mention 'Umar as *Amir al-Mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful), which would definitely have been mentioned in any decree or even letter, because of Shi'ite beliefs.

applied to every city and town except for Aelia (the city); the residents there had a different agreement, which would have not occurred in al-Jābiyah as is understood from the text. This understanding resolves what is believed to be a historical contradiction on where ‘Umar is believed to have granted the assurances of safety.

Al-Ṭabarī quotes more contemporaries to strengthen this argument that Aelia refers to a large area and region. He quotes two people as saying (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.4:192):

افتتحت إيلياء وأرضها على يدي عمر ...

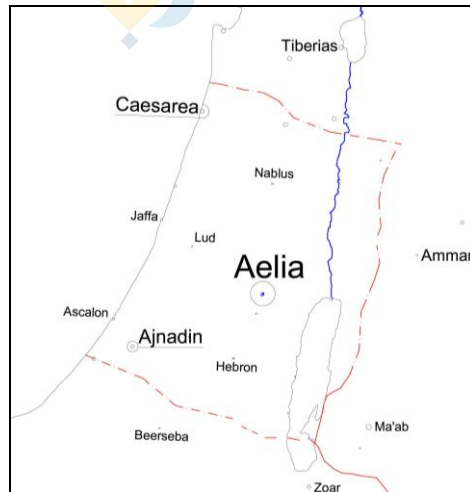
Aelia and its land were conquered at the hands of ‘Umar ...

This further strengthens the fact that here he is talking about Aelia, the region. However, some could argue that in this case it does not refer to the region but to the immediate vicinity of the city. This can be rejected on the ground that another narration mentions the names of towns or sites very far away, as for instance in a narration by contemporaries (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.4:192; Ibn Kathīr 1997b, v.7:47):

...وفتحت إيلياء وأرضها كلها على يديه، ما خلا أجنادين فإنها فتحت على يدي عمرو، وقيسارية على يدي معاوية.

Aelia and all of its land was conquered by his hands except for Ajnādīn which was conquered at the hands of ‘Amr, and Caesarea at the hands of Mu‘āwiyah ...

This shows that all the land of Aelia (the region) was conquered by ‘Umar, except for the sites of Ajnādīn and Caesarea (see chapter 8). Which explicitly means that these two named sites as well as other areas that came forth before these sites were part of the Aelia region. This is shown in the map opposit.



Map 4.1: Location of Caesarea and Ajnadin within the province of Palestina Prima which can be equated with the region of Aelia

From the above discussion it is clear that, when the Muslims took over the region of al-Sham in general and Aelia in particular, they used a

mixture of Latin and Arabic names. However, some of the denotations of the words have been lost in the process of recording. It seems that during that period there must have been a mechanism to show when a region or a city was being referred to. However with generations some of this has been lost, though some of it has been passed on. Such as with the terms *Madinat Iliya'* and *balad Iliya'* which refer to the city only. However, when *Iliya'* is used on its own it can refer to the region. But in many texts *Iliya'* is used to mean only the city, which causes confusion and many contradictions. Moreover, in some cases the same term can be used in the same sentence to refer to both connotations.

To lessen this confusion, it seems that during the reign of 'Umar, the term Bayt al-Maqdis was used to refer to the city (Aelia Capitolina). This appears to be the case in most of the citations mentioned above during the time of 'Umar, though not in the citations from the death of the Prophet till the end of the reign of Abū Bakr. Moreover an introduction of the term *al-Quds* in one narration is taken back to the time of 'Umar. It is said that when 'Umar went to pray he asked Ka'b al-Aḥbār where to pray within al-Aqsa Mosque. Ka'b replied that he should pray behind the Rock, so that the whole of *al-Quds* would be in front of him. However, 'Umar said he would pray where the Prophet prayed, in the front of the Mosque (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.1:276-7). What is interesting here is the use of the name *al-Quds* – its first mention. However, this Ḥadith is not very authentic, and there is no other account to support the use of this name. Which means that the wording might have been tampered with by one of the weak narrators in the chain. So this would have probably been altered before Imam Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal recorded it in his *Musnad*. This is discussed further in the next chapter, by looking at everyone in the chain to discover when the amendment took place, as the use of the name al-Quds for this period is not accurate.

## Conclusion

As has been discussed, in the pre-Muslim period the area was under Byzantine rule, the city was known as Aelia Capitolina, and the region around it as Aelia from the year 135CE. Arabs had a good knowledge of the whole area in general, and the city in particular, some through their trade connections. Most importantly, though, the Christianised Arabs had a better knowledge of their homelands, as they had lived in many areas in al-Sham for centuries. The Arabs, in addition to being aware of the Latin name, were also using other names such as UriShalim or UriSalim, and Bayt al-Maqdis. However, it seems that they used the name Bayt al-Maqdis more frequently, as well as its Latin name Aelia,

which was used by the inhabitants of that time to refer to the region. But it is not clear if they used the names Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis to refer the region or only to the city at this stage. As for other names, they were aware of some, but rarely used them as they had been out of use for some time.

Prophet Muhammad was aware of other names, but mainly used the name Bayt al-Maqdis in the majority of the narrations – as well as Aelia, though this rarely. During the early Prophetic period, and well before the Night Journey, a framework had been in place to connect Muslims to this land. Already the early Muslims were praying towards Bayt al-Maqdis, and many verses from the Qur'an had been revealed in which Bayt al-Maqdis was a central part. In addition, many traditions of the Prophet used the name Bayt al-Maqdis, mainly to refer to the city. Although in one case it was very clear that reference was to a large region with many districts. There is only evidence of the use of the name Bayt al-Maqdis and not any other name (such as al-Quds) at this period; nevertheless, this is as well as the other terms introduced in the Qur'an.

This link was to be further strengthened with the incident of the Night Journey, which was one of the important milestones, if not *the* most important. This incident brought many narrations about Bayt al-Maqdis, introducing a new term al-Aqsa Mosque for the mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis. In most of the *Aḥādīth* about *al-Isrā'*, Bayt al-Maqdis comes with reference to the city, within which lies the mosque. The use of the term Aelia within these *Aḥādīth* was either by *Quraysh* or the companions of the Prophet, but rarely by the Prophet himself.

Following the migration to Madinah, it is evident that the term Bayt al-Maqdis continued to be used by the Prophet until his death, as well as some rare use by him of the term Aelia, although it was in constant use by his companions. He was also aware of specific sites within the region, as he named some in documents and ordered armies into specific sites.

As for the meaning of Bayt al-Maqdis in the *Aḥādīth* of the Prophet, it is clear that he used it interchangeably to refer to the mosque, the city and the region. It referred to the mosque explicitly in the case of Prophet John. It explicitly referred to the city in the Story of *al-Isrā'*. Finally, it explicitly referred to the region when it referred to the marching of Joshua towards Bayt al-Maqdis. To conclude, it is safe to say that Prophet Muhammad used the term Bayt al-Maqdis to refer to all three but mainly the city. However, each must be read in context to understand to what it refers. The same also applies to the narrations from consecutive periods.





# DEVELOPMENT OF THE NAMES OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM: FROM AFTER THE MUSLIM CONQUEST UNTIL THE CRUSADER PERIOD (23-500 AH)

## Introduction

In the last chapter, most of the narrations during that era were examined to achieve an understanding of how the names developed and their uses in that period. This chapter and the next will go on to trace the development of the usages of the names of Bayt al-Maqdis and the introduction of new ones from the start of the reign of 'Uthman Ibn 'Affān (23 AH/644 CE) until the late Ottoman period. In addition, what these names actually referred to will be explored, although investigating every account and narration during this long period is not feasible. In addition, most of these narrations and understandings are not Prophetic or Divine and thus have no holiness in their order or wording, they however cannot be neglected since they are the product of the human intellectual process. For this reason, this chapter and the next investigate as many accounts as possible, attempting to cover each era comprehensively.

The division of the sections in this chapter have followed both the chronological and the thematic methods, as far as the evolution and the development of the names and terms associated with Islamic Jerusalem. Neither an independent use of the chronological nor the thematic method could resolve the difficulty, so it has been essential to use both simultaneously.

This meant chronologically dividing the period to be covered into eras. The first included the reign of the third and fourth rightly guided Caliphs: 'Uthman Ibn 'Affān (23-35 AH/ 644-656 CE) and Ali Ibn Abī

Ṭālīb (35-40 AH/ 656-661 CE), up to the end of the Umayyad reign (41-132 AH/ 661-749 CE). The second era comprised the first and second Abbasid eras (132-487 AH/ 749-1094 CE) and other dynasties within this time up to the first interruption at the time of the Crusades. The third (in the next chapter) comprised the era from the time of the Crusades (~500 AH / 1107 CE) until the end of the Ottoman reign (~1300 AH/ 1900 CE). The thematic division was a sub-section under each of the eras, which looked at the names used in that era and their connotations.

The justification for the classification into three major periods is not incidental but the result of considering the historical significance and developments attached to them. The reason for the divisions is based on major changes or the introduction of new names. The first period covers a very rich time until the end of the Umayyad period. The second period dates from around the time that a new name, al-Quds, was introduced. Finally, the third period dates from the time that a further advancement to the name occurred when the term *Sharif* was added.

This division causes a small error margin where people living at the start and end of each period overlap, as they have lived in both periods; this overlap is inevitable with any divisions of time. However, all the accounts under each section and heading have been placed in the best possible chronological order, based on probable dates for the accounts. Sometimes there are clues to the date within the tradition or the text; in other cases there are no clues at all. In such cases the tradition or the text is taken to be dated before the death of that specific companion or compiler. It is possible sometimes to know the birth and death date of the immediate narrator or the compiler himself, so this gives some idea as to when a narration or text was written or said.

Companions who lived on after the reign of the first two rightly guided Caliphs are included in this chapter, not the previous one, since there is a possibility that these accounts were said or done towards the end of their lifetime after the reign of the second rightly guided Caliph ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23 AH/ 644 CE).

In covering the names of Islamic Jerusalem during these eras there is another small error margin, based on their pronunciation. In early writings, the *ḥarakāt* (vowels) were not clearly shown or sometimes even not used, which means that the reader would not be able to differentiate between names such as al-Quds/al-Qudus and al-Maqdis/al-Muqaddas which are written identically in Arabic. However, the latter al-Qudus and al-Muqaddas are adjectives while the first are nouns, so it is unusual to find the adjectival form used as a name.

### Period One (23-132 AH/ 644-749 CE)

This section covers the period from the beginning of the reign of ‘Uthman Ibn ‘Affān (23 AH/644 CE) until the end of the Umayyad reign (41-132 AH/ 661-749 CE). Many of the first accounts are from the companions of Prophet Muhammad,<sup>1</sup> in which they talk about their experiences or discuss Bayt al-Maqdis. Most of the accounts by the companions regarding Bayt al-Maqdis are covered. The section also includes accounts of their contemporaries known as the *Tabi’in* (the followers)<sup>2</sup> from that period and the Umayyad period, as well as other accounts during the Umayyad reign. All accounts are placed in chronological order under the relevant sub heading.

#### Use of the Name ‘Aelia’

The Latin name Aelia was used by Arabs in its Arabised form *Iliyā’* prior to this period, and continued to be used throughout this era, later becoming the official name used by rulers of the area. The Latin name Aelia was then very popular, being mentioned in many accounts. The usage of the name Aelia throughout this period is now examined.

#### *Abū Dhar (d. 32AH/652-3CE)*

It is narrated by ‘Umayr Ibn Fa’idh al-Lakhmī that he was with Abū Dhar; he states (al-Bayhaqī nd, v.7:418):

كنت عند أبي ذر رضي الله عنه بإيلياء قاعدة فأني بقصعة تفور...

I was with Abū Dhar (may God be pleased with him) in **Aelia** and a charred lamb was brought...

Here Aelia was used by ‘Umayr to possibly refer to somewhere within the city, but it could also mean somewhere within the region. It can be understood from ‘Umayr's statement that he was visiting Abū Dhar in his house in Aelia, the city.

<sup>1</sup> Companions who died before the end of the reign of ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (23 AH/ 644 CE) are mentioned in the previous chapter. This chapter is about those companions who lived on after ‘Umar; however, this does not mean that their accounts were not given during or before the reign of ‘Umar. Nevertheless there is no evidence that this is so, so the date of death of each companion is taken as the latest date of that statement.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabi’in* are those people who came into Islam after the death of Prophet Muhammad and were not able to meet him, although they did meet his companions.

*Ḥudhaifa Ibn al-Yamān (d. 36AH/656-7CE)*

Ḥudhaifa narrated many traditions of the Prophet using the name Bayt al-Maqdis but when he was using his own words, he resorted to numerous other names. It is narrated that Ḥudhaifa had an opinion about *I'tikāf* (seclusion in mosques); he used to say (al-Sanʿanī 2000, v.4:267):

لا اعتكاف الا في هذه المساجد الثلاثة مسجد المدينة ومسجد مكة ومسجد ايلياء

There is no I'tikāf, except in three mosques: the mosque of Madinah, the mosque of Makkah and the mosque of **Aelia**

In other narrations he is said to have used the mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis and al-Aqsa Mosque (al-Sanʿanī 2000, v.4:267; Ibn Abī Shaybah 1994, v.2:503). Therefore it is clear that Ḥudhaifa was referring to the mosque (whether it was *Masjid Iliyā'*; *Masjid Bayt al-Maqdis* or *al-Masjid al-Aqsa*) in a different term from the one he narrates from the Prophet, and that he was aware of other names such as Aelia.

*Murrah Ibn Ka'b (d. ~55AH/675CE)*

After the assassination of 'Uthman Ibn 'Affān, the third Caliph, many speakers stood up to support Mu'awiyah against his rival Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. Abū Qulabah (d.104AH/722-3CE) and many others narrate (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.14:54-5):

لما قتل عثمان رضي الله عنه قام خطباء بإيلياء فقام من آخرهم رجل من أصحاب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يقال له مرة بن كعب .....

After 'Uthman (may God be pleased with him) was killed, many speakers stood up in **Aelia**, and the last amongst them to stand was a companion named Murrah Ibn Ka'b

In these narrations, what is of interest is the use of the term Aelia. In another narration of the same story, rather than mentioning the name Aelia, the narration pinpoints a certain location where this incident took place; it mentions the name *Marj Ṣahjā* (Ibn 'Asīm nd: 1240). This could mean that *Marj Ṣahjā* is part of Aelia, which would mean that the other narrations were referring to the region of Aelia, of which *Marj Ṣahjā* is a part. A similar narration with a similar story uses the name Bayt al-Maqdis instead of the name Aelia (Ibn 'Asīm nd2:1086), thus rendering them as one and the same.

*Abū Hurayrah (d.59AH/679CE)*

Abū Hurayrah narrated many *Aḥādīth* regarding this area, he was also engaged in many debates recorded on the same topic. One of these recounts his meeting *Salṣmān al-Aghar* who was making his way to al-Aqsa Mosque. When Abū Hurayrah asked him what he was doing, he replied (al-Fakihī 1998, v.2:103):

إني تجهزت وأردت مسجد إيلياء

I have just prepared myself to head to the mosque of **Aelia**

The mosque of Aelia would no doubt refer to al-Aqsa Mosque and Aelia here would refer to either the city or the region.

*‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Umar (d. 73AH/692-3CE)*

It was said by contemporaries of ‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Umar that he commenced the state of *Iḥrām* for his pilgrimage from Aelia (Mālik 2000:118). Here Aelia may refer to either the walled city or the region of Aelia. However, another narration makes it clear that it is the region of Aelia, as the narration states that he started off his pilgrimage from *Arḍ* Bayt al-Maqdis (the land of Bayt al-Maqdis) (Ibn Abī ‘Arubah nd:101). Had the mosque been meant, it would have been referred to as the mosque of Aelia; the mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis, Bayt al-Maqdis or al-Aqsa Mosque. However some take it to mean al-Aqsa Mosque, such as al-Bayhaqī when he mentions the Ḥadīth: "the virtue of setting off from al-Aqsa Mosque to *al-Ḥarām* Mosque". Therefore it could be Aelia the city or the region.

*Abū Rayḥanah*

There are numerous narrations about people meeting Abū Rayḥana in Aelia, such as Abū Ḥaṣīn al-Haytham Ibn Shafī who says that he went with some men to (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.13:301; Abū Dawūd 2000, v.2:677-8):

...يصلّي بإيلياء وكان قاصهم رجلا من الأزد يقال له أبو ريحانة من الصحابة قال أبو الحصين فسبني  
صاحبي إلى المسجد

...pray in Aelia and their narrator was a man from al-Azd named Abū Rayḥana from the companions. Abū Ḥaṣīn adds that his friend went to the mosque before him

In this narration it is clear that they are talking about Aelia the city, later restricted in the statement to denote the mosque where Abū Rayḥana used to narrate his stories.

*‘Abd Allah Ibn Abī al-Jadh‘ā*

Abd Allah Ibn Shafiq narrates that he was in Aelia with a group of people and later listened to a companion of the Prophet narrating a Ḥadīth; he says (al-Tirmidhī 2000, v.2:623):

كنت مع رهط بإيلياء فقال رجل منهم سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول .... فلما قام قلت من هذا قالوا هذا ابن أبي الجذعاء

I was with a group of people in **Aelia**, and heard one of them say that he heard the Prophet say... after he left they asked who was he and were told he was Ibn Abī al-Jadh‘ā

Although there is a reference in this narration to a gathering somewhere in Aelia, whether it is the city or the region is unknown. However, normally, these kinds of gatherings for knowledge would have been held within a mosque, but not necessarily *the* al-Aqsa Mosque.

*Sa‘d Ibn Mālīk*

It is narrated that Sa‘d Ibn Mālīk used to prefer to pray in the first Mosque built by the Prophet and used to say (Wakī‘, nd:386):

لأن أصلي في مسجد قباء أحب إلي من أن أصلي في مسجد إيلياء  
praying in 'The mosque of Qubā' for me is more beloved than praying in the mosque of Aelia

Here the mosque of Aelia again would refer to al-Aqsa Mosque and Aelia here could refer to the city or the region. This would have been related to the conflict with Mu‘awiyah, who was based in al-Sham (Jabareen 2006:303).

*Mu‘awiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān (d.60AH/680CE)*

In many narrations throughout the reign of Mu‘awiyah al-Aqsa Mosque was referred to as the mosque of Aelia. Abū Rashid al-Ḥabranī narrates (Ibn Baṭāh nd:2635):

أن معاوية ، قام في مسجد إيلياء فقال : لما بين حائطي هذا أحب إلي من آخر الأرض  
Mu‘awiyah stood in the mosque of **Aelia**, and said what is within these walls are more beloved to me than the whole earth

Here the narrator uses the term "mosque of Aelia" to refer to al-Aqsa Mosque, Aelia could refer to the city or the region.

Many continued to use the name Aelia throughout the reign of Mu'awiyah. Mālik Ibn Qays narrates an incident that happened with 'Uqbah Ibn 'Āmr; he says (al-Mawṣilī 1998, v.1:52; al-Haytamī nd:5315; al-Ruwyanī nd: 297966;):

قدم عقبة بن عامر على معاوية وهو بإيلياء

'Uqbah Ibn 'Āmr came to see Mu'awiyah while he was in Aelia

Here there is a clear reference that it is the city that is being referred to, since Mu'awiyah was based within the walled city. Also the statement continues by saying that 'Uqbah left and was found on a piece of a land; this indirectly refers to his leaving Aelia the city.

In addition to these accounts, there are contemporary artefacts surviving from the time of Mu'awiyah which contain a record of the official name used during his reign (40-60AH/661-680). A coin with the name Aelia was minted in Palestine at this time, which has both the names Iliya' (Aelia) and Filisṭīn (Palestine) printed on it.



Figure 4.1: Arab-Byzantine coins minted in Aelia, 660-680 CE  
Source: (Goussous 1996: 84, 85)<sup>3</sup>

This clearly confirms that the official name during the time of Mu'awiyah was Aelia. But does Aelia refer to the city or the region? The coin makes it certain it is the city and not the region, since on one side of the coin it has the name Iliya' minted and on the other side it has Filisṭīn. Therefore Palestine refers to the province and Aelia to the city, as is the case with many coins from the area of Sham in that period (Album & Goodwin, 2002). However in many cases the name of the province was also used to refer to a city as in al-Urdunn for Tiberius, and Filisṭīn for Lud/Ramla. But this is only the case with the capital of the province,

<sup>3</sup> See also <http://users.rcn.com/j-roberts/213.htm>;  
<http://www.vcoins.com/ancient/trionfo/store/viewItem.asp?idProduct=3&large=1>

and Aelia was not the capital at that time. Moreover both a name of a city and a province are shown; so it can be concluded that Aelia on these coins referred to the city and not the region.

*‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Āṣ (d. 65AH/684-5CE)*

Many people referred to al-Aqsa Mosque as the mosque of Aelia; in a narration between 60-64AH/ 680-683CE<sup>4</sup>, the narrator (a Shaikh from al-Nakhḥ) says that he entered *Maṣjid Iliyā* and saw ‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Amr praying (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.6:344; Abū Hadhīl nd:540591). Here he was referring to al-Aqsa Mosque as the mosque of Aelia. Aelia could refer to the city or the region of Aelia; the author prefers the latter, because another version of the narration says that he entered a mosque in al-Sham (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.6:131-2) – therefore widening the area. However, it *could* be the city, because a mosque can be associated with either the city or the region.

Many others used to use the Latin name Aelia on its own, though it is never clear whether this meant the city or the region. ‘Abd Allah Ibn Shāfiq (d. 108AH/726CE) narrates that he was sitting with some people, some of whom were companions of the Prophet. He states (al-Tirmidhi 2000, v.2:623):

...I was sitting with a group of people in **Aelia**, جالست إلى رهنط أنا رابعهم بإيلياء

This does not clearly specify a certain place within Aelia, and can mean either Aelia the region or Aelia the city, or even within the mosque as it is surely part of Aelia. However, most times mention of the mosque seems to be as *maṣjid Iliyā*, not as Aelia by itself.

*‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān (d.86 AH/705CE)*

During the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik, Al-Farazdaq (d.110 AH/728CE) wrote a great deal to glorify the Umayyads and ‘Abd al-Malik especially. In one of his verses of poetry glorifying what the Umayyads had control over, he says (al-Farazdaq 2006:275):

ومقر بأعلى ايلياء مشرف  
And two mosques we are  
custodians of, the house of God

وبيتان: بيت الله نحن ولاته  
And another high up in Aelia  
making us proud

Here he is talking about the Ka‘bah and al-Aqsa Mosque; he refers to al-Aqsa Mosque as being geographically elevated. The Aqsa Mosque

<sup>4</sup> During the reign of Yazīd Ibn Mu‘awiyah



certainly is on a high mount in the city of Aelia, but not the highest. Moreover, if Aelia is taken as the region it makes more sense, as there are many more mountains much higher up.

In another poem he states:

واسط من إيلياء ملّت  
If a bird was commanded to  
advance like him

لو أن طيرا كلفت مثل سيره  
to Wāsiṭ from Aelia it would  
have been weary

This can be taken to refer to the city as he mentions two cities and the distances between them. Thus Aelia here would be the walled city.

In most official transactions during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik, the name Aelia was predominant in its Arabised version, and continued to be minted on coins during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik. The coins referred to the city as was the case with most mints.



Figure 4.2: Arab coins from the time of ‘Abd al-Malik  
Source: (Goussous 1996: 85)

Another medium that gives an accurate record of what names were used during the Umayyad reign comes from distance signs – milestones – found on many major routes. These were mainly erected during the time of the fifth Umayyad Khalif ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān (Durī 1990:110-111; Krachkovski 1963:61). Some of these milestones dating back to his reign have survived. One of them was found close to a church in *Abū Gosh*, about 14km north-west of the walled city, with the following engraved on it (Van Berchem 1992: 19-21; Foucart 1922: 1.I) (Figure 4.3 #1):

...From Aelia to this milestone there are seven miles ... من إيلياء الى هذا الميل سبعة اميال



Figure 4.3: Milestone 1 and Milestone 2

الطريق

Another milestone was found at a watchtower in *Bāb al-Wād*, about 19km north-west of Aelia, on the route to Ramla. The milestone had nearly identical wording engraved on it (Van Berchem, 1922:17-21; Foucart 1922: P1.II) (Figure 4.3 #2):

... من إيلياء إلى هذا الميل ثمانية أميال

... From Aelia to this milestone there are eight miles.

Other milestones were also discovered on the route to Damascus around Jericho bearing names of other cities in the region. Moreover these milestones give an exact record of what was used in that period, without the slightest alteration. They make it clear that Aelia was used by the administration of the area. In this case again the reference is to the city as is normally the case with most milestones and coins; they give reference to a known site rather than an area or province, especially if the milestone is from within that province.

*Maḥmūd Ibn al-Rabi'* (d.99 AH/ 717-8CE)

The name Aelia was also used by a late companion of Prophet Muhammad, Maḥmūd Ibn al-Rabi'. He talks about an incident in his life during the reign of Mu'awiyah<sup>5</sup> when he goes through the city of Aelia. He states:<sup>6</sup>

... فأهملت من إيليا بحج أو عمرة حتى قدمت المدينة...

...I commenced my pilgrimage from Aelia until I got to Madinah...

This again is referring to the state of *Ihrām* and he could be referring to either the region or the city, but most likely he meant the mosque within the city, where pilgrimage is normally started from.

*Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyab* (d.94 AH/ 713CE)

Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyab gave a ruling about al-Aqsa Mosque; however, he used one of the other names for the mosque, stating (al-San'anī 2000, v.8:395):

من نذر أن يعكف في مسجد إيلياء ...

Whosoever vows to make *I'tikāf* in the mosque of Aelia ...

<sup>5</sup> After a battle with the Byzantines in the year 52 AH near Constantinople

<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Mubarak (nd:10609); Ibn al-Mubarak (nd2: 9370); al-Bayhaqī (nd2: 631161); al-Ṭayalisi (nd: 19779); Ibn Khyzamaḥ (nd:354491)

Here he names al-Aqsa Mosque, *Masjid Iliya'* (the mosque of Aelia), where Aelia could refer to the city or the region.

*'Aṭā'* (d.114 AH/732CE)

'Aṭā' was also asked about a person who vowed to walk to Aelia. This would refer to something specific as it was common for people to vow that, if God was to cure them or if something good was to them, they would fulfil their vows and walk to such holy places. Therefore here Aelia refers to al-Aqsa Mosque in particular and the region in general.

In short, the name Aelia during this period was used to refer mainly to the city and sometimes the region. Some of the times this was clear-cut, and at other times it was vague and could be applied to either. Moreover the name Aelia was used for the city officially during this era, as was recorded on coins and milestones, which also indicates that people of the time were well aware of the name. The names were also written in Arabic, thus mainly addressing the Arabic speaker; however, surprisingly, the name Bayt al-Maqdis was not used in these official signs.

### Use of the Name 'Bayt al-Maqdis'

The Arabic name Bayt al-Maqdis used by the Arabs prior to the Prophetic period and by Prophet Muhammad himself continued to be very popular throughout this era. This was so since most of the Prophetic traditions included this name, which was memorised and written down by many in this period. This section looks at the usage of the name Bayt al-Maqdis during this time. Although it was not the official name, it survived for the reasons mentioned.

*Abū Dhar* (d. 32AH/652-3CE)

It is narrated by al-Aḥnaf Ibn Qays (d.72AH/691-2CE) that he entered Bayt al-Maqdis; he states (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.15:531):

دخلت بيت المقدس فوجدت فيه رجلا يكثر السجود

I entered Bayt al-Maqdis and found a man prolonging his *Sujūd* (prostration)

He then found the man to be Abū Dhar a companion of the Prophet. What is interesting here is the usage by al-Aḥnaf of the term Bayt al-Maqdis during the life of Abū Dhar, which would have been before 32AH, the year Abū Dhar died. Here al-Aḥnaf states, "I entered Bayt al-Maqdis" and it is quite obvious from the text that he means al-Aqsa Mosque, as he is talking about prayer in Bayt al-Maqdis. Although it

could also mean that it was somewhere within Bayt al-Maqdis the city, it is clear from the text he is talking about the mosque.

Another narration tells of a man who used to pray with Abū Dhar; the narrator states (Ibn Sa'd 1997, v.4:175):

قال كنت أصلي مع أبي ذر في بيت المقدس فكان إذا دخل خلع حفيه...

I used to pray with Abū Dhar in Bayt al-Maqdis, so when he entered he used to take his shoes off...

Here also the reference is obvious as being to al-Aqsa Mosque, since he is talking about the prayer in Bayt al-Maqdis. However it could also mean that it was somewhere within Bayt al-Maqdis the city; but it is apparent from the text that it is this Mosque, as it had a special sanctity to that of Makkah where companions used to also take off their shoes.

*Ḥudhaifa Ibn al-Yamān (d. 36AH/656-7CE)*

It is narrated by Zir Ibn Ḥubaysh (d.82AH/701CE) that he came to Ḥudhaifa while he was speaking about *al-Isrā'* (the Night Journey): "Until we (the Prophet and Gabriel) got to Bayt al-Maqdis; however they did not enter it." Meaning that they went directly to heaven. Here Zir disagreed, saying: "No, they did enter it and even prayed inside it." So Ḥudhaifa asked him for evidence and Zir recited the first verse of al-Isra (17:1) (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.16:593, 598). Therefore the understanding of Ḥudhaifa of Zir to the word Bayt al-Maqdis here is to al-Aqsa Mosque, mentioned clearly in the Qur'anic verse recited by Zir.

*Salmān al-Farīsī (d.36AH/656-7CE)*

Salmān al-Farīsī narrates the story of when he was a Christian and of his coming to Madinah, in which he passes through Bayt al-Maqdis; he began his journey with a monk who said to his hosts (al-Ṭabarānī nd, v.6:241-5):

I would like to go to Bayt al-Maqdis

إني أريد بيت المقدس

Salmān al-Farīsī then adds:

حتى انتهينا إلى بيت المقدس وعلى الباب رجل مقعد يسأل الناس فقال: أعطني فقال: ما معي شيء فذهبتا إلى بيت المقدس فلما رأه أهل بيت المقدس بشوا إليه واستبشروا به ... ثم خرجنا من بيت المقدس فمرنا على ذلك المقعد

Until we reached Bayt al-Maqdis and on the gate we saw a disabled person begging people and he asked us, and he [the monk] said: I have nothing. Then we went into Bayt al-Maqdis, when the people of Bayt al-Maqdis saw him they were so happy to see him ... then we left Bayt al-Maqdis and we went past the same disabled man

Here Bayt al-Maqdis clearly refers to the city and not the mosque or the region. It was not the mosque since they were two Christians going into the holy sites of Christianity in the city. And it was not the region as he talks of a walled compound with gates and a populace.

### *Tamīm al-Dārī*

Tamīm Ibn Aws al-Dārī was granted some land by Prophet Muhammad in and around Hebron, and when ‘Umar Ibn al- Khaṭṭāb conquered the region, he appointed him as **Amīr** (Prince) of **Bayt al-Maqdis** (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr 2002, v.2:82; Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī 1994:319). Bayt al-Maqdis here could refer to the city or the region; however, a prince is normally appointed over a substantial piece of land, thus the region.

### *Endowment of Nuba (~ 40 AH/660CE)*

This stone record of the endowment is in al-‘Umarī Mosque in the village of Nuba north-west of Hebron. It is claimed that it dates back to before the end of the reign of the fourth Caliph 40 AH (Abū Sara 1993: 3-7). On the stone the following is engraved:



Figure 4.4: Stone engraving

..هذه الضيعة نوبا بحدودها وأطرافها وقف على صخرة بيت المقدس والمسجد الأقصى أوقفها أمير المؤمنين عمر ابن الخطاب..

This village *Nuba* with all its territories and its suburbs are an endowment on the rock of Bayt al-Maqdis and al-Aqsa Mosque, as it was entrusted by the commander of the faithful ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ...

This is the earliest record of the name Bayt al-Maqdis written down, as other records are accounts passed on through memorisation and writings. On the stone the name *Ṣakbrat* (Rock of) Bayt al-Maqdis was used to refer to the rock within the al-Aqsa Mosque enclave. Bayt al-Maqdis could refer to the city or the region; there is no indication which.

*Maymūnah bint al-Ḥarith (d. 51AH/ 671CE)*

Ibn ‘Abbās (d.68AH/ 687-8CE) narrates that a woman vowed if God cured her illness she would go and pray in Bayt al-Maqdis. So when she was cured she prepared herself and went to say farewell to Maymūnah, and told her what she planned. She was told by Maymūnah to eat what she had prepared for the journey and pray in the Mosque of the Prophet, as she had heard the Prophet say "A prayer in it (the Mosque of the Prophet) is better than a thousand prayers in any other except the Mosque of the Ka‘bah" (Muslim 2000, v.1:565). From their discussion it can be surmised that Bayt al-Maqdis here refers to al-Aqsa Mosque. When the lady told Maymūnah that she was going to pray in Bayt al-Maqdis, the latter understood that she meant she was going to the mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis, and that is why she mentioned the mosque of the Prophet and the *al-Ḥaram Mosque* and linked the rewards of praying in them with al-Aqsa Mosque.

*Sa‘d Ibn Abī-Waqāṣ (d.55 AH/ 675CE)*

It is narrated that Sa‘d Ibn Abī-Waqāṣ was sitting with some of the followers and at the end of his dialogue he said, that God did not want to burden people and wants their ease. Then he added (Ibn Manṣūr nd:2347):

والله لغزوة في سبيل الله أحب إلي من حجتين ، ولحجة أحجها إلى بيت الله أحب إلي من عمرتين ، ولعمرة أعتمرها أحب إلي من ثلث آتيةن إلى بيت المقدس

I swear by God that a Ghazwa [expedition] for the sake of God is better than making Hajj twice, and one Hajj to the house of Allah is better than twice making ‘Umrah, and One ‘Umrah is better than three visits to **Bayt al-Maqdis**.

In this he seems to be referring to Bayt al-Maqdis the mosque since he equates it with performing ‘Umrah (lesser pilgrimage). He is equating it to religious rituals, since within the area of Bayt al-Maqdis there is no place that holds any special religious significance except for al-Aqsa Mosque.

*Mu‘awiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān (d.60AH/680CE)*

A few years after the assassination of ‘Uthman Ibn ‘Affān in the year 38AH/658CE, Mu‘awiyah and ‘Amr Ibn Al-‘Āṣ (d.43AH/663CE), wrote a decree between them in Bayt Al-Maqdis. It states (Ibn Sa‘d 1997, v.4:191):

...هذا ما تعاهد عليه معاوية بن أبي سفيان وعمر بن العاص ببيت المقدس من بعد مقتل عثمان بن عفان...  
 ...this is what Mu'awiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān and 'Amr Ibn Al-Āṣ agreed on in **Bayt Al-Maqdis** after the assassination of 'Uthman...

Here the name Bayt al-Maqdis which was used and written down in their agreement would most likely refer to the city.

Following this, people started giving allegiance to Mu'awiyah. In a narration by Ibn Jabir (Ibn 'Aṣim nd:1086):

اجتمع الناس ببيت المقدس، قد هموا أن يبايعوا معاوية....  
 People gathered in **Bayt al-Maqdis**, and were about to give the oath of allegiance to Mu'awiyah....

Here Bayt al-Maqdis could mean either the mosque, city or region. However in an earlier narration it was understood to be the region of Aelia (*see* previous section on Aelia), as this is a very similar narration. But Ibn Jabir states that they gathered in Bayt al-Maqdis; thus it must have been a location where they gave the pledge, and this was usually within the mosque.

Moreover, in a narration by Ya'la Ibn Shaddād in which he mentions an account of a prayer in Bayt al-Maqdis, he states (Abū Dawūd 2000, v.1:189):

شهدت مع معاوية بيت المقدس فجمع بنا فنظرت فإذا جل من في المسجد أصحاب النبي  
 I was with Mu'awiyah in **Bayt al-Maqdis**, and I looked and saw the majority of those in the mosque were companions of the Prophet

Here Bayt al-Maqdis clearly refers to al-Aqsa Mosque, as is explicit from the rest of the narration where Ya'la specifies the mosque.

In another narration by Abū Qabīl (d.127AH/745CE) he states (al-Miknasī 1985: 309):

شهدت مع معاوية في بيت المقدس على المنبر يخطب...  
 I witnessed Mu'awiyah in **Bayt al-Maqdis** giving a sermon on the pulpit...

Here again Bayt al-Maqdis clearly refers to al-Aqsa Mosque, as it is explicit from the rest of the narration that many companions were present, and a pulpit is specified within the Mosque. In addition, this narration bears some similarity to a narration mentioned earlier referring to the mosque (*see* previous section on Aelia).



*Ka'b al-Aḥbār (d. 62 AH/682CE)*

Ka'b was one of those who pushed for the name Bayt al-Maqdis to be adopted and used as he was against using the Latin name Aelia. It is narrated that Ka'b was passing by his nephew and a friend of his, he asked them (al-Wāsiṭī 1979:21)<sup>7</sup>:

أين تريدان؟ قالوا إيليا. قال كعب: مه، لا تقولوا إيلياء ولكن قولوا بيت الله المقدس... ما تدرون ما مثل بيت المقدس عند الله...

Where are you heading to? They said Aelia. Ka'b said: Do not say Aelia, but rather say *Bayt Allah al-Muqadas*...Don't you know the likeness of Bayt al-Maqdis to God?

In another narration he said (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.5:194):

لا تسموا بيت المقدس إيلياء ولكن سموه باسمه فإن إيلياء امرأة بنت المدينة،

Don't call Bayt al-Maqdis Aelia, call it by its name, Aelia is a name of the woman who built the city

It is clear that Ka'b disliked the use of the name Aelia and preferred Bayt al-Maqdis because of its religious connotations. He also mentioned many narrations about Bayt al-Maqdis, which mainly refer to the city. However most of these narrations are not authentic to him, and many have been fabricated in his name. Thus a lot of these narrations are not considered here but later at the time of the weakest link Abū Sinān in the chain of narrators, who may have possibly changed Ka'b's wording.

*'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣ (d. 65AH/684-5CE)*

'Abd Allah Ibn al-Daylamī, a contemporary to 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr, went from Bayt al-Maqdis to see Ibn al-Āṣ in Tā'if, and asked him three questions, one of which was about Bayt al-Maqdis. He asked: is it true you said (al-Ḥakīm 1990, v.1:84):

...وأنه من أتى بيت المقدس لا ينهزه إلا الصلاة فيه خرج من خطيئته مثل يوم ولدته أمه...

... and whosoever comes to Bayt al-Maqdis for nothing except praying in it goes back with all sins obliterated...

In this Hadith it is clear that he is talking about the mosque, as he mentions praying in it. And in his reply 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr says, "Whosoever comes to this mosque", therefore meaning the site of al-Aqsa Mosque, and not the city or region.

<sup>7</sup> See similar narration in Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī (1994:211).



*Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 65 AH/684-5CE)*

During the rule of Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam over Madinah for Mu‘awiyah Ibn Abū Sufyān, he addressed verses of poetry to al-Farazdaq (d.110AH/728CE) in which he said:

وادمد مكة أو لبيت المقدس
ودع المدينة إنمها مرهوبة

Leave Madinah it is startling
And head to Makkah or Bayt al-Maqdis

Here the reference is clearly to cities; he starts off by mentioning Madinah, then Makkah and finally Bayt al-Maqdis when referring to the city. It is thus absolutely clear that he is talking about the city in this case. Also from the context it is understood that he is asking al-Farazdaq to reside in one of the places he mentioned and keep away from Madinah – and residing is normally connected with a city.

*‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 68AH/687-8)*

There are many accounts relating to Bayt al-Maqdis narrated by Ibn ‘Abbās, both in his own words and those of the Prophets. In most accounts Ibn Abbās tends to use the term Bayt al-Maqdis as is the case when explaining a verse from the Qur’an (17:60) about the Night Journey (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.2:766):

هي رؤيا عين أراها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ليلة أسري به إلى بيت المقدس

it is a real vision that the Prophet saw with his own eyes during the night he was taken on the Night Journey to Bayt al-Maqdis

The Night Journey was to Bayt al-Maqdis the city and specifically the mosque within it. Therefore Bayt al-Maqdis can be taken here to mean the city.

*‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Umar (d. 73AH/692-3CE)*

A contemporary of ‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Umar; Wasi‘ Ibn Ḥibān narrates that he was praying in the mosque, and ‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Umar was sitting with his back to the *Qiblah* (direction of Prayer). After he finished praying ‘Abd Allah approached him and said: some people say when you are in the toilet you must not face the *Qiblah* (Makkah) or Bayt al-Maqdis. He then added that the Prophet used to face Bayt al-Maqdis (Muslim 2000, v.1:126). Here this would refer specifically to the mosque for those within the city. However to those away from it it would refer to the city and to those further away, as was the case in this narration, it would refer to the direction of the surrounding area, the region, as discussed previously.

*Abū Rayḥanah*

Abū Rayḥanah was a resident in the city of Bayt al-Maqdis, and kept a steadfast post (*Murabāṭah*) on the coast.<sup>8</sup> It is narrated that one day he asked his commander if he could take leave for a night to go back home. His commander agreed to this and the narration continues (Ibn Maṣṣūr nd: 2489):

...فقدّم بيت المقدس عشاءً ، فأتى المسجد ولم يأت أهله... وكان مسكنه بيت المقدس

...He got to Bayt al-Maqdis in the late evening, and he went to the mosque and not his house...and he was a resident in Bayt al-Maqdis

In this narration it is clear that there is a distinction between the mosque and the city, and it clarifies that Bayt al-Maqdis was the city where people lived and resided, not just the mosque within its walls.

*‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān (d.86AH/705CE)*

Although for official records the name Aelia was used, the name Bayt al-Maqdis was also popular amongst rulers and governors. ‘Abd al-Malik was crowned Caliph in Bayt al-Maqdis in the year 65AH/685CE (Ibn Khayṭ 1993: 200). During his reign (65-86AH/ 685-705CE) Bayt al-Maqdis was in the forefront of many developments. He was given the title (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.2:372):

Amīr Bayt al-Maqdis

أمير بيت المقدس

Bayt al-Maqdis here could refer to the city or the region, but could possibly be the region since a prince normally rules over a substantial area of a land, as mentioned previously in the case of Tamīm al-Dārī.

In one account it is reported that ‘Abd al-Malik asked Nawf al-Bakālī (al-Wāsiṭī 1979: 23):

Did anyone hear anything about Bayt al-Maqdis?

هل سمعت في بيت المقدس شيئاً؟...

Another account says that ‘Abd al-Malik was sitting with some of his subjects and asked (Ibn ‘Abd Rabūh nd:667):

هل بلغكم أي شيء أصبح في بيت المقدس ليلة قُتل الحسين...؟

Did anyone hear if anything happened in Bayt al-Maqdis the night al-Hussain was killed?

<sup>8</sup> This was very common to protect the coast from any invasion

Al-Zahrī answered yes, so he asked him again the same question, using the same name Bayt al-Maqdis. In both cases the name Bayt al-Maqdis was used to refer to the city.

*Al-Walīd Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (d.96 AH/ 717 CE)*

Ibrahim Ibn Abi ‘Ablah (lived in the early to mid-8<sup>th</sup> century) after al-Walīd died, used to remember his generosity and would say (Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī 1994:345):

رحم الله الوليد وأين مثل الوليد؟ كان يعطيني قصاع الفضة أقسمها على قراء بيت المقدس

May God have Mercy on Al-Walīd, where can you find anyone like al-Walīd? He used to give bowls of silver to distribute amongst the Qur’anic reciters of Bayt al-Maqdis.

This also refers to the mosque where reciters normally gather and recite from the Qur’an.

*‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d.101 AH/ 720 CE)*

There are two narrations of ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz in Bayt al-Maqdis; the first says that he was in (Ibn ‘Abd Rabuh nd:637):

*Ṣahn* (Plaza) of Bayt al-Maqdis

صحن بيت المقدس

This talks of al-Aqsa Mosque, as is very clear from the contexts. The second narration however does not mention the mosque at all. Abū Sinān says (Ibn Sa’d 1997, v.5:295):

...كان عمر بن عبد العزيز إذا قدم بيت المقدس نزل الدار التي أنا فيها...

...Whenever ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Azīz came to Bayt al-Maqdis he used to stay at my house...

From the reference to the house, this narration very clearly talks of Bayt al-Maqdis the city and not the mosque.

*Ṭāwūs (d.106AH/724CE)*

People during this period used to ask questions to scholars, using the many different names for the area. Ṭāwūs was asked about a person who vowed to walk to Bayt al-Maqdis or visit Bayt al-Maqdis (al-San‘anī 2000, v.8:396), both of which would have referred to the mosque in particular but the city in general.

*‘Aṭā’ (d.114 AH/732CE)*

‘Aṭā’ was also asked about a person who vowed to walk from Basra to Bayt al-Maqdis (al-San‘anī 2000, v.8:395) the city – but again, particularly the mosque as was explained in the case of Aelia earlier (*see* previous section on Aelia). Thus in this case the city can be taken as being referred to.

In short, as has been seen in this period, the name Bayt al-Maqdis was mainly used to refer to the mosque or the city, rarely to the region. However this name, especially when talking about its religious dimension, continued to be popular in its three connotations. It was nonetheless not the official name but was used a great deal even by governors and officials.

### Use of other names

Since Bayt al-Maqdis was used mainly for the city or the mosque and hardly ever for the region, it seems that many did not feel comfortable referring to the region as just Bayt al-Maqdis, as this would cause some confusion to the hearer or reader. Thus it seems that they found a way around this problem and used another term with the same name to denote the region. This was done by using the term *Arḍ* (land) prior to the name Bayt al-Maqdis, with it thus becoming *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* and referring precisely to the region. Also there seems to have been some mention of the name al-Quds which later became the most common for Bayt al-Maqdis.

*Mu‘awiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān (d.60AH/680CE)*

It is narrated that an old man was brought to Mu‘awiyah who asked him about different things. One of which was why al-Sham was called al-Sham, and who were its first inhabitants. He added (Ibn al-‘Adīm nd:156):

حل هؤلاء كلهم وهم بنو كنعان السواحل من أنطاكية، والساحل كله من صيدا وطرابلس وحمص وأرض القدس والغور إلى عمل البنية،...

...All of them, the tribe of Canaan, inhabited the coast of Antioch, and all of the coast from Sidon and Tripoli, Aleppo and *Arḍ al-Quds* and al-Ghor up to the province of al-Buthaynah...

Here we have the first possible use of the term *Arḍ al-Quds*, though it was recorded by Ibn al-‘Adīm in the seventh AH century. Moreover he has a chain of narrators who take it back to Mu‘awiyah; but since it does not carry any holiness, the words might have changed. However it

clearly refers to a region that covers a substantial area, the extent of which is discussed in a later chapter.

*‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Umar (d. 73AH/692CE)*

It was said by contemporaries of ‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Umar that he commenced his *Ihrām* for his pilgrimage from *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* (the land of Bayt al-Maqdis) (Ibn Abī ‘Arubah nd:101). This is also the first time the name ***Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*** was used. *Arḍ al-Maqdis* was used at the time of Abū Bakr, but this is the first time we have *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* as one term together. This implies that Bayt al-Maqdis had a large piece of land associated with it as a whole. Also it could mean that pilgrimage did not necessarily need to be from the city of Bayt al-Maqdis but could be from anywhere within its land.

*Al-Walīd Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (d.96 AH/ 717 CE)*

During the reign of al-Walīd, the work on the construction of al-Aqsa Mosque compound continued. Some of the workers came from Egypt, and this was recorded in the letters of Qurrah Ibn Sharīk. These letters are said to bear the name al-Quds. If this is so this would be the first time the name al-Quds had ever been used. Many quote this in the form *Masjid* (Mosque of) *al-Quds* (Abū Ṣafīyah 2004:111-2, 275-77; ‘Abd al-Muhdī 2002:242-3; Mufḍī 1988:87-8). However, after a lengthy investigation it seems that these authors actually refer back to an English translation of the original Greek versions of the letters and translate from English the equivalent of the term the Mosque of al-Quds. The primary source for these notions was Harold Bell who published the translation of the Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum (Bell 1908:97-99,116-7; 1911:374,383; 1912:136-7). Which clearly shows that these works are in Greek and the text translated as *Masjid al-Quds* comes from Bell's translation Mosque of Jerusalem which he translated from the Greek (μασγίδα Ἱερουσολύμων) (Bell 1908:116). These Abū Ṣafīyah explains to be a translation of the original Arabic letters which have not reached us (2004:17).

These thus can be no use for us here as we were searching to see what name would have been used in the original Arabic documents. It most likely was not al-Quds but rather Bayt al-Maqdis in the original text. This would have been translated directly into Greek as *Ἱερουσολύμων*. This was translated by Bell in the previous century into English as *Jerusalem* and finally translated into the popular Arabic name of this time *al-Quds*.

*‘Aṭā’ (d. 114 AH/732CE)*

Some scholars were also aware of other names, such as ‘Aṭā’ when he mentioned a narration in which he states (Ibn al-Jawzī 1979:100; Maḥmūd 1979:22):

Be glad Uri Shalm

أبشري أوري شلم

Here this shows an awareness of other names for the city in particular and for the area in general.

## Conclusion

During this period it is clear that both Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis were the most popular names. Officially Aelia continued to be used mainly for the city as was the case before the Muslim conquest. As for Bayt al-Maqdis, it was mainly used to refer to the Mosque or the city.

Both names were equally popular but there seemed to be a movement that sought to emphasise the religious connotation of the term Bayt al-Maqdis as the name of the city, not favouring the Latin-derived name Aelia. This movement was headed by Ka‘b al-Aḥbār who converted from Judaism into Islam during the time of ‘Umar. The name was most probably unfavourable to the Jews as it had connotations with their expulsion from the area in the year 135CE. However this did not seem to have succeeded, since companions and followers were using a mixture of names to refer to the Mosque, city and the region, and amongst them was Aelia. The use of Aelia as the official name means that Ka‘b’s opinion was not widely accepted. Also many of the rulers were jurists such as ‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.

From the last few accounts it seems obvious that scholars mainly used the name Bayt al-Maqdis. However they were also aware of other names, such as Aelia, since people were asking them about using these names. This gives another indication that the people of Arabia, Iraq and other places were aware of the different names.

Both names mainly focused on the city and its vicinity. Rarely was their reference to a region and, when it was using one of these terms this was not very obvious. Thus it seems that some people preferred to use the term Arḍ, land, prior to the name to indicate their intention of referring to a region.

## Period Two (132-493 AH/ 749-1099 CE)

This section is from the start of the Abbasid era (132 AH/ 749 CE) and covers other dynasties within this time up to the first interruption at the time of the Crusades (493 AH/ 1099 CE). In this period we will see the introduction of a new name al-Quds which has survived to this day. Also in this period the decline of the use of the name Aelia is apparent, a name that had existed for many centuries prior to this period from 132 CE. In addition we will look at the continuation of the usage of the name Bayt al-Maqdis.

### Introduction of Name Al-Quds

*Abū Sinān (d. before 160 AH/ 777CE)*

A narration from the first Muslim conquest of Bayt al-Maqdis is narrated in Imam Aḥmad's famous book of Ḥadīth *al-Musnad*. The narrators in the chain are all sound, except for Abū Sinān who is disputed and is considered by many as very weak; he is the one who could have been responsible for using the name al-Quds in this narration, rather than at the time of 'Umar.

'Isā Ibn Sinān narrates an incident of a conversation between 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Ka'b where 'Umar asked Ka'b about the place he should pray within the Mosque, Ka'b replied (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.1:276-7):

إن أخذت عني صليت خلف الصخرة ، فكانت القدس كلها بين يديك

If you take my recommendation you would pray behind the Rock, and the whole of al-Quds would be before you

#### Chain of Narrators

Imam Aḥmad  
(d.241)  
↑  
Aswad Ibn 'Amir  
(d.208)  
↑  
Ḥammād Ibn  
Salamah (d. 167)  
↑  
**Abū Sinān**  
**'Isā Ibn Sinān**  
↑  
'Ubayd Ibn Adam  
↑  
conversation

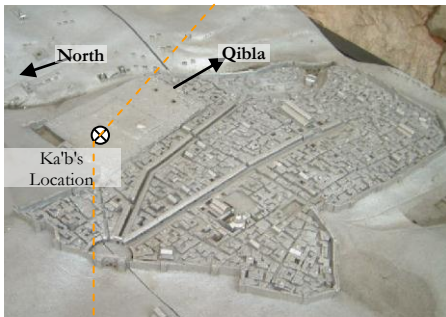


Figure 4.5: Suggested site by Ka'b

Here it is clear that he is talking about the city, since from the place he suggested the whole city could be viewed, not just when facing towards the Qiblah; from that relatively high place in the city, the whole city can be overlooked as could be seen in the diagram opposite.

In the conversation as narrated by 'Isā Ibn Sinān, the

term al-Quds was used. However it is possible that in the actual conversation another name was used. Still, we are interested in this term which was used in the era in which 'Isā Ibn Sinān lived. This is not the only narration that has the name al-Quds in it, there are many others most are unfortunately weak. This would imply that one of the weak narrators in the chain was the source of this inaccuracy.

*Al-Wāqidi (d. 207 AH/ 822 CE)*

Al-Wāqidi, as well as using other names, was one of the first to have used the name al-Quds when explaining how 'Umar divided up al-Sham; he states (al-Wāqidi, nd:339):

...وأعطى أرض فلسطين وأرض القدس والساحل ليزيد بن أبي سفيان...

And he ('Umar) gave the land of Palestine and the land of al-Quds and the coast to Yazid Ibn Abī Sufyān...

Here he talks about the administrative division made by 'Umar, distinguishing between these three areas. In the previous sentence he talks of the division of al-Sham into two parts, one part with Yazid and the other with Abū 'Ubaydah from Ḥurān to Aleppo. This implies that the rest of al-Sham south of Ḥurān is what is considered here as the lands of Palestine and al-Quds and the Coast. From this we can say that it refers to the three Palestines (Palestina Prima, Secunda, Tertia), of which the land of al-Quds and the rest of the coast are a part. This also confirms a distinction between the land of Palestine and the land of al-Quds. Thus here *Arḍ al-Quds* refers to a relatively large area of which the city of Bayt al-Maqdis is a central part.

Also al-Wāqidi in another place in his book is cited as having used al-Quds again. He states as part of a discussion between Heraclius and some soldiers that it was said to him (al-Wāqidi nd, v.1:419-20):

رأى في البيت صورة القدس ومدن الشام

He saw in the building a drawing of al-Quds and the cities of al-Sham

In this narration it is clear that the words are those of al-Wāqidi and not of Heraclius or his soldiers, since it is obvious they would not have used Arabic words but rather Latin. Also al-Quds here would refer to the city, as can be understood from the rest of the sentence where he mentions "and the cities of al-Sham", which would clarify that he was talking about the city of al-Quds in the first instance.



*Al-Ma'mūn (d. 218 AH/ 833 CE)*

One of the Abbasid Caliphs who paid much attention to the city was al-Ma'mūn. Following the earthquakes that hit the area, al-Ma'mūn was responsible for much of the renovation in the city and specially that of its Mosque. Another of his accomplishments was the minting of a new coin in the city. This would have occurred during his twenty-year reign (197-218 AH/ 813-833CE) and can be specifically traced to the end of his reign in the year 217 AH/ 832 CE. What is special about this mint is that it contains the first display of a new name for the city on a coin. The previous generations of Muslim mints had the Arab form (إيليا) Iliyā' (Meshorer 1996:419). In the year 217 AH/ 832 CE al-Ma'mūn struck the name al-Quds on a new mint.



Figure 4.6: Mint of al-Ma'mūn bearing the name al-Quds  
source: Meshorer 1996:417

On the coin's outer circle it has the following minted:

بسم الله ضرب هذا القدس سنة سبع عشرة ومئتين

In the Name of God, This *fil*s was struck on **al-Quds** in the year 217[AH]

This was the first time the name al-Quds is known to have been minted on a coin. However, as has been seen, the name was in use rarely before this mint was struck, which implies that it was adopted by the authorities after it started to be used by some people. This also means that the new official name for the city became al-Quds from that year.

*Na'im Ibn Ḥammād (d.228AH/843CE)*

Na'im Ibn Ḥammād, who is very famous for his writings on *al-Fitan* (turbulences), narrates two narrations from Ka'b, in which he mentions the name al-Quds. However the chain of narrators after the second narrator is weak and therefore the wording should be taken to be around a generation or two before the time of Na'im Ibn Ḥammād rather than dating it to the time of Ka'b; he may have possibly worded it differently. The parts of the narrations that interest us are as follows (ibn Ḥammād nd: 707, 1278):

أحب القدس إلى الله جبل نابلس

The most beloved part of *al-Quds* to God is the mount of Nablus

ما كانت الخلافة في أرض القدس والشام

As long as the Caliphate is in *Arḍ al-Quds* and al-Sham

In both these narrations there is a talk of a large area; in the second citation he talks of a land that belongs to al-Quds, and in the first citation he includes Nablus as being part of al-Quds. This could also mean that the use of the name al-Quds from these narrations dates back to before the coin of al-Ma'mūn and the citation in al-Wāqidi but, with a weak chain of narration, this cannot be absolute. However the region is once referred to as al-Quds, on its own, and the second time as *Arḍ al-Quds*, with the term for land in front.

*Abū al-Hadhīl* (d. 235 AH/849-50CE)

It is narrated that Abū al-Hadhīl said (al-Aṣḥānī nd2: 595):

إن إبليس قال لعيسى عليه السلام حين رآه على جبل القدس...

Satan said to Jesus, Peace be upon him, when he saw him on the Mount of *al-Quds*..

Here the mountain of al-Quds is used to refer to a mountain possibly outside the city, but there is no specification to where it might be. It could refer to the Mount of Olives or another mountain further away.

*Imam Muslim* (d. 261 AH/ 875 CE)

Imam Muslim narrates many sayings of the Prophet regarding this place. He narrates some where Prophet Muhammad used Aelia, as well as many where he used Bayt al-Maqdis. However Imam Muslim came to name a section within the book of Mosques as (Muslim 2000, v.1:212):

باب تحويل القبلة من القدس إلى الكعبة

Section on the change of the *Qiblah* from *al-Quds* to al-Ka'bah

Here Muslim uses the name al-Quds, for a section where he lists numerous *Aḥādīth* which mainly use the name Bayt al-Maqdis. This could mean that Imam Muslim was trying to use a name that people found familiar for this area during his time. The name al-Quds here most likely refers to the city.

*Al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. ~346 AH/957CE)*

Al-Iṣṭakhrī was a geographer and he mainly used the name Bayt al-Maqdis. However, he once used the name al-Quds, when discussing the distances between the cities of Palestine; he states in his book (al-Iṣṭakhrī 1927:66):

...حتى ينتهي إلى الرملة، ثم إلى القدس، ثم إلى أريحا...

...Until Ramla is reached, then to al-Quds, then to Jericho...

Here al-Quds refers to the city, as is clear from the context where beforehand other cities are mentioned such as Jaffa and Ramla and after it other cities were also mentioned such as Jericho and Zoar. In addition this is in a section where he is talking about distances from and to cities. Thus he would be referring to the city of al-Quds.

*Ibn al-Kandī (d. 355AH/ 966CE)*

Ibn al-Kandī was an expert in the history of Egypt; he wrote a book on the virtues of Egypt, in which he tried to elevate Egypt's position. He mentions al-Quds, in the first instance talking about Jesus and his mother (Ibn al-Kandī nd:1):

بالهنسا وانتقلا عنها إلى القدس.

in *al-Banhansā* and they moved from it to al-Quds

In this statement it is understood that Prophet Jesus and his mother were in Egypt in *al-Banhansā* and then they moved to the city of al-Quds. However in another statement Ibn al-Kandī uses al-Quds in a wider sense. When talking about the cemetery in al-Muqāṭam mountain in Egypt, he states (Ibn al-Kandī nd:10):

وأما فضل مقبرتها فذكر أهل العلم أن الطور من المقطم وأنه داخل فيما وقع عليه القدس.... قال كعب: كلم الله

تعالى موسى من الطور إلى أطراف المقطم من القدس، وقال تبع: منازل الفسطاس في القدس.

As for its cemetery, the scholars have said that Tur is part of *al-Muqāṭam* and it is within what lies within al-Quds....Ka'b said: God spoke to Moses from the Tur to the edges of *al-Muqāṭam* from al-Quds; and Tubai' said: the houses of al-Fustas are in al-Quds

Ibn al-Kandī here talks of al-Quds extending to cover parts of Egypt, according to the Tubai' covering the town of Fustat in old Cairo. This could be an exaggeration to include parts of Egypt as being part of al-Quds or the Holy. This book was clearly trying to exalt and raise the status of Egypt and give it a holier and more divine blessing as is the case with most of the books writing on virtues of cities and terrains. In

addition, this book was written for and presented to the governor of Egypt Kafur al-Ikhshidī. Moreover Ibn al-Kandī based his claim on two narrations, one of Ka'b and the other of Tubai'; however he does not give his chain of narrators or source, therefore as a source it will be rejected. However, what is of interest here is that he is talking of a large region associated with al-Quds and wanted to extend it to cover parts of Egypt.

*Al-Muṭahar Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (d. 370 AH/ 980-1 CE)*

Al-Muṭahar as well as using the name Bayt al-Maqdis in many sites in his book, is found to have used al-Quds once, when talking about Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr where he says that he (Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī nd:355):

و حج غير مرة و زار القدس و بنى مدينة المصيبة  
Made pilgrimage many times and visited **al-Quds** and built the city of al-  
Mus<sup>□</sup>ays<sup>□</sup>ah

Here he is referring most likely to al-Quds the city, as he is talking about religious pilgrimage to holy sites, and would be referring to al-Aqsa Mosque specifically within the city.

*Al-Maqdisī (d. 390 AH/ 1000 CE)*

In a section on names and their diversities, al-Maqdisī lists names for cities with more than one name, and lists four names for this city (al-Maqdisī 1906:30):

Bayt al-Maqdis, Iliyā', al-Quds and al-Balaṭ بيت المقدس ايليا القدس البلاط

Here al-Maqdisī is aware of the different names of the city and goes on in his book to use the names alternatively in different contexts and to mean more than just the city. He uses the name al-Quds to refer to the large region of Islamic Jerusalem, stating (al-Maqdisī 1906:173):

وحد القدس ما حول ايليا إلى أربعين ميلاً...  
The limits of al-Quds extend to cover the area around Aelia up to forty miles...

From this statement it is very clear that he used al-Quds to refer to a large region with a forty-miles radius, the extent of which will be discussed in chapter seven. In another citation in his text within the same sentence he refers to al-Quds as a city, and as a region; he states (al-Maqdisī 1906:187-8):

...فظاهر الآية مصروف إلى حقيقة القدس وهي إيليا وإنما هي في الجبال لا إلى التبع من السهول والأغوار....  
وذلك إنهم أمروا بدخول القدس والجبارون بارجاء... أما أن يقول إنهم لم يؤمروا بدخول جبال القدس وأما أن يقول  
أن جبال إيليا والبلقاء ليست من الأرض المقدسة...

...The apparent meaning of the verse refers to the essence of **al-Quds**, which is Aelia, and is situated in the mountains, not in the dependencies from the plains or of the valleys.... Since they [the Israelites] were commanded to make their entry into **al-Quds**, while the tyrants were in Jericho.... either that they were commanded not to enter the mountains of the **al-Quds** or that the Mountains of Aelia and al-Balqā' are not part of the Holy Land ...

Here al-Maqdisī is talking about the entry of the Israelites into the Holy Land, and gives the different opinions on it. He starts off to talk about the essence of al-Quds being the city, and equates it with Aelia. This give an indication that al-Maqdisī was well aware that al-Quds was a region with the city at its heart. Also that he was aware of the alternative use of the name Aelia to refer to different meanings. However, he uses Aelia to refer to the city and only the city in this case. In the second part he talks of the city as he explains when saying that the tyrants were in the city of Jericho and not al-Quds the city. In the third part he talks of the mountains of al-Quds and is clearly speaking about a large area; again he uses Aelia in a different connotation with many mountains as a region.

*Ibn Sīnā (d.427 AH/ 1036 CE)*

Ibn Sīnā is the very famous multidisciplined scholar, one disciplines being medicine. In a book on the Law in Medicine, he talks of many medics who lived in the city; he states (Ibn Sīnā nd: 1307, 1326):

فخر الدين المارديني ... مولداً في ماردین وأجداده من القدس ... ولما فتح نجم الدين الغازي بن أرتق القدس بعث  
جده

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Mārdīnī...was born in Mardin and his ancestors were from al-Quds ... When Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazī Ibn Artaq conquered al-Quds, he sent his grandfather...

أبو سليمان داود بن أبي المنى بن أبي فانة كان طبيباً...وكان من أهل القدس...

Abū Sulayman, Dawūd Ibn Abī al-Manā bin Abā Fanah was a Doctor... and was from the people of al-Quds...

Here he is most likely referring to the city, as can be discerned from the contexts, and can possibly be understood to mean the area around the city.

*Ibn Ḥazm (456 AH/ 1064CE)*

Ibn Ḥazm mentions al-Quds twice in his book *al-Faṣl*, in the first instance he talks about the Samaritans (Ibn Ḥazm 1999, v.1:117):

إن مدينة القدس هي نابلس وهي من بيت المقدس على ثمانية عشر ميلاً ولا يعرفون حرمة لبيت المقدس ولا يعظمونه

The city of al-Quds is Nablus, which is eighteen miles from Bayt al-Maqdis, and they know no sanctity to Bayt al-Maqdis and they do not revere it.

Here the city was referred to as Bayt al-Maqdis; al-Quds was used to mean the holy city, in this case Nablus in the Samaritans's belief. This clearly distinguishes it from the walled city that encompasses al-Aqsa Mosque, and shows the term can be used for the meaning. However this is when he is talking about the Samaritans' beliefs; he however uses it differently in other contexts, he states (Ibn Ḥazm 1999, v.1:263):

نخشون ... لم يدخل بنص التوراة أرض القدس

Nakhshūn ... according to the text of the Torah he did not enter *Arḍ al-Quds*

The reference is clearly indicating a large area named here as the land of al-Quds, which this person who was head of one of the Israelites tribes after the exodus from Egypt did not enter. In another of Ibn Ḥazm's books, he further repeats this argument and gives a detailed explanation of it. He states (Ibn Ḥazm nd:203):

نخشون بن عمينا ذاب كان مقدم بني يهوذا، في نص التوراة، ... ومات بانيه؛ لأنه لم يدخل أرض القدس ... وكان مقدم بني يهوذا إذ دخلوا أرض القدس رجل آخر؛ فعلى قولهم إن الداخل في أرض القدس هو سلمن بن نخشون النازل في بيت لحم بقرب بيت المقدس على أربعة أميال منها

Nakhshūn bin 'Amina Dhab was the chief of the tribe of Banī Yahuda, as is stated in the Torah...and he died in the wilderness, as he did not enter the *Arḍ* of al-Quds... and the head of the tribe when they entered the *Arḍ* of al-Quds was another man Solomon Ibn Nakhshūn who settled in Bethlehem near by Bayt al-Maqdis four miles from it

Here again *Arḍ al-Quds* refers to a region, which the first generation of the Israelite tribes did not enter; only the second were allowed within it. This could possibly be equated to the concept of the Holy Land from which the Israelites were barred for forty years. He further explains that even the second generation only got as far as the city of Bethlehem which was four miles away from the city of Bayt al-Maqdis. Thus here we have reference to the Walled City as Bayt al-Maqdis, and the Holy Land as the *Arḍ al-Quds*. He also used another term for this region, *Arḍ al-Maqdis*, which is mentioned in a later section.

*Khisroo* (d.481 AH/ 1088CE)

Nāsir Khisroo went on a journey around the Muslim world, and reached the city of Bayt al-Maqdis in March 1047. He used the name Bayt al-

Maqdis in most of his writing. He gave an explicit account of what the people of that area used for this city, stating (Khisroo 1983: 55):

وأهل الشام وأطرافها يسمون بيت المقدس ويذهب إلى القدس في موسم الحج من لا يستطيع الذهاب إلى مكة  
The people of al-Sham and the area around it name Bayt al-Maqdis **al-Quds**, and people who cannot go to Hajj in Makkah come to **al-Quds** instead.

From the text it seems that Khisroo was surprised to find the people of al-Sham and surrounding area giving this place a different name to the one he was used to. This gives us an indication that in Khisroo's background and place of living, which was Persia, they still called it Bayt al-Maqdis. Also it seems that all the people of al-Sham used this *new* name; however, when Khisroo moved on with his description of the city and its surrounding area he continued to use Bayt al-Maqdis and *Madinat* Bayt al-Maqdis, which clearly shows that he was not very familiar with the name al-Quds.

*Ibn Makula (d.486 AH/1093CE)*

Ibn Makula in his book al-Ikmal talks about names and titles and their origins. In one of his sections he talks about the title Jerusalemite and what it refers to, stating (Ibn Makula nd:535):

وأما القدسي بالقاف نسبة إلى القدس فجماعة  
As for *al-Qudsī*, with *Qāf* [the letter] it is for a group of people and is derived from *al-Quds*

Here he is talking of Qudsī derived from *al-Quds* and not Maqdisī which is derived from the Bayt al-Maqdis. This supports the argument of Khisroo that al-Quds was the most popular name; therefore even titles had changed to suit this change. Quds here could refer to the city or the region.

*Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d.505 AH/ 1111 CE)*

Al-Ghazālī was another of those multidisciplined scholars who worked in many fields. In his very famous book, *Iḥyā' 'Ulum al-Dīn*, part of which he wrote within al-Aqsa Mosque, he states (al-Ghazālī nd, v.1:124-5):

ولنقتصر فيها على ما حزنه لأهل القدس وسمينه الرسالة القدسية في قواعد العقائد... التي ترجمناها بالقدس...  
In this instance we shall concentrate on what we have written for the people of *al-Quds* and we called the *Qudsīyah* (Jerusalemite) Letter in the foundations of Creeds... which we have written in al-Quds....

Here it is clear that he is talking about *al-Quds* the city, and he refers to a letter which he wrote in it as *Qudsiyah* (the feminine of *Qudsi*). In another citation in his book, he refers to some acts of worship the people of *al-Quds* were taking part in, namely the prayer of Rajab, in which he goes on to state his observation of it (al-Ghazālī nd, v.1:238):

ولكني رأيت أهل القدس بأجمعهم يواظبون عليها ولا يسمحون بتركها

However I saw all the people of al-Quds upkeeping it and they do not allow it to be neglected.

Here reference is again to the city, as can be summarised from the context in which he is talking about this prayer of Rajab, which is not on the same level as the prayers of *Tarawih* and Eid.

In short, as can be seen, the name al-Quds was in use from a very early stage but not often; however it built up momentum after being adopted officially in the year 217AH. When it was adopted by the authorities it started to become more and, more popular and within two centuries, it became the norm and the most popular name for the inhabitants of the region, the surroundings and even the whole of al-Sham. However it seems that people in other areas continued to use the old names.

The name was mainly used for the city in most instances. It was also used to refer to the region, as al-Quds or, in some cases, together with the term *Arḍ*, land. It seems that the name became popular with people for many reasons. The first was authority; the Abbasid Caliphate at this stage ruled over areas from Morocco to the west to India in the east, so it had the authority to use or introduce any name it wished. Another reason was the ease of pronunciation of this name and its shortness; al-Quds was much shorter and could be pronounced much more easily than its previous counterpart Bayt al-Maqdis.

### Use of the Name 'Bayt al-Maqdis'

The use of the name Bayt al-Maqdis never halted during this period and the name is one of the most popular in Muslim literature. This is due to the fact that most of the *Aḥādīth* of the Prophet were passed on with the name Bayt al-Maqdis mentioned in them. However, for the people of al-Sham, the use by the public of this name died out, and the name al-Quds became much more popular. In this section, the use of the name Bayt al-Maqdis will be investigated to observe if its meaning had changed. There are numerous references to the name Bayt al-Maqdis in the literature and all cannot be covered within this section; thus a selection of these citations will be examined. The majority of literature from this period bears the name Bayt al-Maqdis, so only a selection will be



discussed. The majority of the literature refers to the city; the main examples here will include the other aspects, the mosque and the region.

*Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān (d. 150 AH/ 767 CE)*

Muqātil was a very famous exegetist and came to Bayt al-Maqdis and delivered many lessons in its Mosque. He is also very famous for a selection of narrations on the *Faḍā'il* (excellences) of Bayt al-Maqdis; numerous scholars quote these specifically when talking about the excellences of Bayt al-Maqdis.<sup>9</sup> These are very many and can be divided into three or four categories, some talking about the Mosque, others about the city and others on the region and sometimes even beyond. Here a few of the references to the region will be listed:

وهاجر إبراهيم من كوثاريا إلى بيت المقدس.

Abraham migrated from *Kutha(rba)* to Bayt al-Maqdis.

وأوصى إبراهيم وإسحاق لما ماتا أن يدفنا في أرض بيت المقدس.

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob ordered to be buried in *Arḍ* Bayt al-Maqdis.

وقوله (ادخلوا الأرض المقدسة...) هي بيت المقدس.

And the Holy Land in the verse (Qur'an 5:21) is Bayt al-Maqdis.

وولد عيسى ببيت المقدس.

Jesus was born in Bayt al-Maqdis.

ويقتل عيسى الدجال في أرض بيت المقدس.

Jesus Kills the Antichrist in *Arḍ* Bayt al-Maqdis.

والمحشر والمنشر إلى بيت المقدس.

The gathering of the dead and their resurrection will be to Bayt al-Maqdis.

In some instances Muqātil refers to the region with the name Bayt al-Maqdis and in other cases *Arḍ* Bayt al-Maqdis. It is clear that he is referring to a region since most of the above citations are not related to the city of Bayt al-Maqdis, but in actual fact have either happened or will happen around it, namely in Hebron, Jericho, Bethlehem, and Lud.

<sup>9</sup> Many quote these as facts and mention them without attributing them to Muqātil, however many refer them back to Muqātil. The first reference to this I found was Ibn al-Faqīh (d.291AH/904CE) (1885:93-6). Most books of *Faḍā'il* also quote these, such as: Ibn al-Jawzī (1989:71-73), Ibn al-Murājā (1995:260-2), al-Khawārizmī (2000:428-30), al-Nabulsī (1990:29-31), Ibn al-Firkah (1935:76-78)

*Thawr Ibn Yazīd (d. 153AH/ 770)*

Thawr Ibn Yazīd died in Bayt al-Maqdis and he narrated many narrations on this topic. Munabih Ibn ‘Uthman al-Lakhmī narrates of him that (Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī 1994: 353):

كان ثور بن يزيد قد سكن بيت المقدس، وكان رجل متعب في بعض قرى بيت المقدس يجلس إلى ثور بن يزيد، وكان يغدو من قريته مع الفجر، فيصلي الصلوات كلها في مسجد بيت المقدس، وينصرف بعد عشاء الآخرة إلى قريته.

Thawr Ibn Yazīd used to live in Bayt al-Maqdis and a pious worshipper in one of the *qura* of Bayt al-Maqdis used to come and sit with Thawr Ibn Yazīd, he used to leave his village every morning and pray all the five prayers in the *Masjid Bayt al-Maqdis* and leave after the last prayer to his village.

In this short passage, we have three terms being used. The first is Bayt al-Maqdis for the city, where Thawr was residing, the second is of one of the *qura* of Bayt al-Maqdis, which refers to one of the villages where this worshipper and student of Thawr dwelled, and finally *Masjid Bayt al-Maqdis*, which refers to al-Aqsa Mosque where the student used to worship and learn from Thawr from dawn until late evening. All these are within one short paragraph referring to the mosque, city and region.

Also it is narrated that Thawr Ibn Yazīd said (al-Wāsiṭī 1979: 41; al-Kanjī 1985:277; Ibn ‘Asākir 1995, v.1:152):

قدس الأرض الشام، وقدس الشام فلسطين. وقدس فلسطين بيت المقدس، وقدس بيت المقدس الجبل، وقدس الجبل المسجد وقدس المسجد القبة

The *Quds* of the earth is al-Sham, the *Quds* of al-Sham is Palestine, the ***Quds* of Palestine is Bayt al-Maqdis**, the ***Quds* of Bayt al-Maqdis is the mount**, the *Quds* of the mount is the Mosque and the *Quds* of the Mosque is the Dome.

The use of the term *Quds* refers to the adjective *Quds*, Holy, and not a name *Quds*. The use of the name Bayt al-Maqdis here is the holiest part of Palestine. It is then stated that the holiest part in Bayt al-Maqdis is the Mountain, narrowed down to the Mosque, and then the Dome of the Rock within the Mosque. This indicates to us that reference to Bayt al-Maqdis here means the city, though one may argue that it refers to the region. If this is so, then Bayt al-Maqdis is restricted to a small area within Palestine.

*Mu‘awiyah Ibn Ṣalīḥ (d. 158AH/ 775CE)*

Mu‘awiyah Ibn Ṣalīḥ used to say and narrate sayings that discouraged the usage of the name Aelia and endorsed the use of the name Bayt al-Maqdis. It is narrated that he said (Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī 1994:211; al-Kinji 1985:278):

لا تَدْعُ المدينة يثرب، ولا بيت المقدس إيليا.

Do not name Madinah, Yathrib nor Bayt al-Maqdis, Aelia.

Ibn Tamīm adds the reason of why this should not be used, he states that it is a name of one of the Roman Emperors, probably referring to Hadrian. Moreover, the reference here is to the city of Bayt al-Maqdis as can be clearly understood from the context.

*Zuhair Ibn Muḥammad (d. 162AH/ 778CE)*

Zuhair Ibn Muhammad, after narrating a Ḥadīth of the Prophet about *al-Sham*, adds (al-Kanji 1985:290):

قال قوم: الربوة بلد الرملة. وقال آخرون: الربوة أرض فلسطين، يعنون جهات بيت المقدس، زاده الله تقديسا....

Some people say that *al-Rabwah* is Ramla, while others say *al-Rabwah* is the lands of Palestine, meaning the areas of Bayt al-Maqdis, may God increase its Holiness

Zuhair is referring here to the disagreement on where *al-Rabwah* was, in which Prophet Jesus and his mother dwelled. The first opinion he gives is of those who believed it to be a city, Ramla, and the second is of those who believed it to be a region. Those who understood it to be a region took it to mean the region of Bayt al-Maqdis in every direction.

*Al-Mu‘alā Ibn Ṭarīf (d. ~169 AH/ 785CE)*

Al-Mu‘alā Ibn Ṭarīf worked for the Caliph al-Mahdī and ruled in his name in many places. He wrote verses of poetry (Ibn Khurdādhbah 1906:79):

وزرت بيت المقدس

O friend I have performed Hajj

يا صاح إني قد حججت

and I have visited Bayt al-Maqdis

Reference here to Bayt al-Maqdis is either to the city or the mosque; however as he is coming from his pilgrimage he is probably referring to the Mosque. The next verse talks about him in the city of Lud; this could indicate that reference to Bayt al-Maqdis was in actual fact to the city.

*Abū Nuwās (d.198AH/ 813CE)*

Abū Nuwās was a very well-known poet during the early Abbasid period, and composed many verses glorifying the Abbasid rulers. In one of his poems he mentions *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, he says (Abū Nuwās 2005: 205):

وهن عن البيت المقدس زور

وأصبحن قد فوّزن من نحر فطرس

They were able to cross River  
*Fuṭrus*

Quite a distance from *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*

In this verse, the poet is talking about some ladies who passed over the river *Fuṭrus*, which is the river *al-ʿUjā*, at a distance from *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*. This would clearly refer to al-Aqsa Mosque, as is specified by the poet when he says *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, the Holy House, and not Bayt al-Maqdis, the city.

*Ishaq Ibn Bisr al-Bukhārī (d. 206 AH/ 821-2CE)*

This person is considered to have written the first book solely on *Faḍāʾil* Bayt al-Maqdis. Unfortunately his book has not reached us, but the book's title was (Hajī Khalifah 1990, v.2:1240; al-ʿAsālī 1984: 25):

*Futuh* Bayt al-Maqdis

فتوح بيت المقدس

From the name of the book it is clear that *Futuh* here is mentioned in the plural, which implies that it is the conquest of many areas in the plural and not one site or location, or he would have used the singular form of conquest *Fath*. Which implies that Bayt al-Maqdis is a large area and not just the city.

*Al-Wāqidi (d. 207 AH/ 822 CE)*

Al-Wāqidi was a very famous historian and to him date back many of the accounts of the conquest of Bayt al-Maqdis. In his book *Futuh al-Sham* he mentions that the knowledge of *Futuh* (conquests) used to be revised with scholars such as ʿUbadah bin ʿAwf al-Daynawūrī. He mentions that he was one amongst them and states (al-Wāqidi nd:333):

...كنا يوماً نقرأ فتوح الشام وفتوح بيت المقدس عند قبر أبي حنيفة...

...One day we were reading *Futuh al-Sham* and *Futuh* Bayt al-Maqdis beside the grave of Abū Ḥanifa...

In this statement he clearly talks about the conquests of al-Sham in the plural as it contains many areas; so he mentions *Futuh* in the plural and not in its singular form *Fath*. He also talks about *Futuh* Bayt al-Maqdis and not *Fath* Bayt al-Maqdis, thus implying that it is a large area and not just the city. He also equates the area of al-Sham and the area of Bayt al-Maqdis, thus in some way making it equivalent to the region of al-Sham and not just a city of al-Sham. In addition al-Wāqidi in most cases uses the name Bayt al-Maqdis, except when quoting someone else. Also most of the time he uses this name to refer just to the city.

*Al-Ṣanʿanī (d.211 AH/826CE)*

Al-Ṣanʿanī named a section "*Bab al-Nathir bil-mashī ila Bayt al-Maqdis*" (vowing to walk to Bayt al-Maqdis) (al-Ṣanʿanī 2000, v.8:395), and another section "*Bunyan Bayt al-Maqdis*" (the building of Bayt al-Maqdis) (al-Ṣanʿanī 2000, v.5:295). Both cases seem to refer only to the mosque as can be seen from the sections' contexts.

*ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAmir al-ʿAmirī*

ʿAbd Allāh states that while he was in Bayt al-Maqdis, he met a priest and he had a conversation with him, he states (Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī 1994:359):

سألت راهبا ببيت المقدس، فقلت: يا راهب، ما أول الدخول في العبادة

I questioned a priest in Bayt al-Maqdis and I said: O priest....

Here reference seems to be to the city, and surely not the Mosque, as it can be seen from the conversation that it would have probably been somewhere within the city, that is to say in its public places.

*Al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. 346AH/957CE)*

Al-Iṣṭakhrī, in addition to using al-Quds once in his book, used Bayt al-Maqdis fourteen times, twelve in the form of Bayt al-Maqdis and two in the form *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*. In the first instance he talks of the wilderness of the Israelites, and he allocates its geographical extent, having one of its frontiers with Bayt al-Maqdis; he states (al-Iṣṭakhrī 1927:53):

وأما تيه بني إسرائيل ... يتصل حد له بالجفار ... وحد بازاء بيت المقدس وما اتصل به من فلسطين، ...

As for the wilderness of the Israelites, ... One of its sides extend to *al-jafar*, ... another of its limits extend to beside Bayt al-Maqdis and what is connected with it from Palestine...

What interests us here is the reference to Bayt al-Maqdis being along the borders of the wilderness. Between the city of Bayt al-Maqdis and the frontier of the wilderness is a very long distance well over a hundred kilometres, so it seems to be referring to the region of Bayt al-Maqdis rather than the city.<sup>10</sup>

However the rest of the citations for Bayt al-Maqdis refer mainly to the city, as can be seen from the following quotations (al-Iṣṭakhrī 1927:56):

<sup>10</sup> This will be discussed in depth in chapter 7.

وفلسطين أركى بلدان الشام، ومدينتها العظيمة الرملة، وبيت المقدس يليها في الكبر، وبيت المقدس مدينة مرتفعة على جبال....

Palestine is the greatest province of al-Sham, and its greatest city is Ramla followed by Bayt al-Maqdis in size, and Bayt al-Maqdis is a city high up in the mountains...

Bayt al-Maqdis in the quotation above and the rest of the citations all refer to the city, as can be clearly seen from the context and as is explicitly mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī. As for the al-Aqsa Mosque, he names it *masjid Bayt al-Maqdis*. When he was giving the distances between cities, he mentioned Bayt al-Maqdis, the city, and distances to and from it (al-Iṣṭakhrī 1927:66). However, he is also cited as having used the term Bayt al-Maqdis not to mean specifically the city or the Mosque, but to refer to a place that is "Holy". Thus he states (al-Iṣṭakhrī 1927:58):

ونابلس مدينة السامرة، يزعمون أن بيت المقدس هو نابلس،

Nablus is the city of the Samaritans, and they claim that Bayt al-Maqdis is Nablus

Here it is clear that he has not used it to refer to the walled city of Bayt al-Maqdis, but to a completely different place, which the Samaritans take to be their holy site; therefore their Bayt al-Maqdis (holy place) is Nablus for this Jewish sect.

Al-Iṣṭakhrī uses the same name in another form, using it with the Arabic definite article *al-* (the), stating (al-Iṣṭakhrī 1927:70):

فإن للنصارى كرسيا بإنطاكية وكرسيا بالإسكندرية وكرسيا يرومية، والكرسي الذي بالبيت المقدس محدث، لم يكن في أيام الحواريين، وإنما اتخذوه بعد ذلك لتعظيم البيت المقدس

The Christians have a chair in Antioch, a chair in Alexandria and a chair in Rome. As for the chair in *al-Bayt al-Muqadas* it is recent, as it was not there at the time of the disciples, and they made it after that to exalt *al-Bayt al-Muqadas*.

Here as is clearly shown, he used *al-Bayt al-Muqadas* to connote it with the city of Bayt al-Maqdis. However, mostly when *al-Bayt al-Muqadas* is used with the definite *al*, it is used to connote al-Aqsa Mosque. This case this is not the case here, as he is referring to Christian and not Muslim holy sites.

*Al-Aẓḥarī (d.370 AH/ 980-1CE)*

Al-Aẓḥarī was a linguist and under the root q-d-s, he mentions Bayt al-Maqdis as coming from the same root, (al-Aẓḥarī nd:1163):

ومن هذا بيت المقدس أي البيت المطهر الذي يُتَطَهَّرُ به من الذنوب.

From this (root) is Bayt al-Maqdis that is the purified house where sins are cleansed

Here reference is to al-Aqsa Mosque, since he restricts the meaning to a single site, where sins are purified.

*Al-Ṣalīb Ibn ‘Abbād (d.385 AH)*

Ibn ‘Abbād was also a linguist and, under the root q-d-s, he mentions al-Muqadis and states that he is (al-Ṣaḥīb Ibn ‘Abbād nd: 448):

وَالْمُقَدِّسُ: الْمُتَعَبَّدُ الَّذِي يَأْتِي بَيْتَ الْمُقَدِّسِ.

*Al-Muqadis*: is the worshipper who comes to Bayt al-Maqdis

Here again reference seems to be to the city; one could argue that it is the Mosque, but it does not seem to be only for Muslim worshippers, as the wording is more inclusive. As was the reference in Imri‘ al-Qays's poetry where he refers to a priest coming from Bayt al-Maqdis. Thus Bayt al-Maqdis refer to the city's holy sites, and thus the city in general.

*Al-Maqdisi (d. 390 AH/ 1000 CE)*

As well as using al-Quds and Aelia, al-Maqdisi uses Bayt al-Maqdis thirty-five times, all referring to the City of Bayt al-Maqdis. Since all refer to the city, only a few will be mentioned (al-Maqdisi 1906:33, 154, 165):

وصنعاء طيبة الهواء، وبيت المقدس حسنة البناء

*San'a'* has wonderful air and Bayt al-Maqdis has excellent buildings

وأما فلسطين فقصبتها الرملة ومدنّها: بيت المقدس، بيت جبريل....

As for Palestine its capital is Ramla and its cities are Bayt al-Maqdis, *Bayt Jibrin*,....

بيت المقدس: ليس في مدائن الكور أكبر منها وقصبات كثيرة أصغر منها

Bayt al-Maqdis: of the cities of the provinces there is none bigger than it, and many *qasabas*'s are smaller than it

It was found that in all thirty-five instances al-Maqdisi referred to Bayt al-Maqdis in a single connotation, the city. He never refers to the mosque or the region as Bayt al-Maqdis, rather he uses other names for different connotations.

*Al-Jawāhirī (d.393 AH/ 1003 CE)*

Also al-Jawāhirī was a linguist, and he mentions under the root q-d-s a few things that the other linguists have not. He speaks of different pronunciations and what someone who is associated with place is named, stating (al-Jawāhirī nd: 565):

وبَيْتِ الْمُقَدَّسِ وَالْمَقْدِسِ، يَشَدَّدُ وَيُخَفِّفُ، وَالنَّسْبَةُ إِلَيْهِ مَقْدِسِيٌّ، مَثَالُ: مَجْلِسِيٌّ وَمَقْدِسِيٌّ

*Bayt al-Muqaddas* and *al-Maqdis*, (by stressing it or lightening it). Association with the place is Maqdisi, (it can be pronounced like majlisi) and Muqaddasi

Here he says that there is more than one way of naming this site, either *Bayt al-Muqaddas* and *Bayt al-Maqdis*, and both can also be associated with different titles. What is interesting is that people who are from different parts of the region and not just the city are also associated with the place, thus extending the meaning from just the city to a whole region.

*Khisroo (d.481 AH/ 1088 CE)*

Khisroo, as mentioned in the previous section, mainly used the name *Bayt al-Maqdis*, and reports that the people of al-Sham used the name *al-Quds*. However, again, he nearly always uses the name *Bayt al-Maqdis* (Appendix 1.1). We see him using it mostly to talk about the city, as well as the province around with its many *Rasātiq* (counties) and *Samād* (rural land). Therefore he is talking of the city, its Muslim, Christian and Jewish sides, as well as its many cities and lands associated with it. To refer to the city he talks of *Madinat* (city of) *Bayt al-Maqdis* to start of, and talks of its geographical position and services it holds such as the hospital. To refer to the city much of the time he talks of its *Rasatiq* and their provision such as water springs.

In short, in this period the name *Bayt al-Maqdis* was mainly used to refer to the city. Reference to the mosque was declining though still visible. As for the region, it continued to be used throughout this period by the name on its own, referring to that large area. The term *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* was used to refer to the city rather than just the Mosque, probably for the first time in this era.

## Use of other names

*Using "Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis"*

Abū 'Ubaydah (d. 209 AH/824CE) was also one of the first to use the name *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*. He states this while explaining a Qur'anic verse and talking of the extent of wilderness of the Israelites (Abū 'Ubaydah nd: 9):

وبعض حدود التيه بلاد أرض بيت المقدس

And some of the boundaries of the wilderness are *Bilād Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*



Here we have reference to *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*, the land of Bayt al-Maqdis. What is interesting is that he does not take that to mean the region, but stresses *Bilād*, the counties in front of it. Thus he clearly talks of a large region that has boundaries and frontiers with the wilderness.

Al-Jāhīz (d.255 AH/ 869-70CE) was another of those to mention a region; he talks of the place of burial of Prophet Joseph and states that he was moved after the Israelites left Egypt and he adds (al-Jāhīz nd: 165):

وقبره علمٌ بأرض بيت المقدس بقريّة تسمّى حسامي. وكذلك يعقوب، مات بمصر فحملت رثته إلى إيلياء، قرية بيت المقدس، وهناك قبر إسحاق بن إبراهيم عليهم السلام.

And his grave is known in *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* in a village called Ḥusamī. Also Jacob died in Egypt and was moved to Aelia the town of Bayt al-Maqdis and that is where the grave of Isaac the son of Abraham is (PBU<sup>11</sup>).

Here again we have reference to a site named Ḥusamī as being part of the region known as *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*. This is in addition to Aelia extending to include the city of Hebron where Prophets Jacob and Isaac are buried.

Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310 AH/ 922CE) was another author who used the name *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*; he dates it back to Qatadah (d.118 AH/ 736 CE) when talking about the water well Prophet Joseph was thrown into (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.1:203):

وهي بئر بأرض بيت المقدس معلوم مكانها.

It is a well in *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*, and its site is well known

There are many disagreements on where this water well is; some say it is close to Jinin, Tiberius and Sinjil, though most of these sites are quite far from the city. That is probably the reason why al-Ṭabarī or his narrator mention the land of Bayt al-Maqdis, meaning it is within its region.

### Using "*Arḍ al-Maqdis*"

Ibn Ḥazm (456AH/ 1064CE) mentioned *Arḍ al-Quds* as noted earlier; he was also one of the first people to use this term *Arḍ al-Maqdis* and he uses it when talking about the Israelites and those who entered this land, he states (Ibn Ḥazm 1999, v.1:263):

فإذا عدت الولادات من أشلومون ابن بخشون الذي دخل أرض المقدس إلى داود عليه السلام وجدوا أربعة فقط

<sup>11</sup> Peace Be Upon Them

If you count the generations from Shlomon Ibn Bakhshun who entered *Arḍ al-Maqdis* till David (PBUH<sup>12</sup>) you found them to be four [generations]

Here he is referring to a large area which the Israelites entered after Moses. This can be equated to the other term *Arḍ al-Quds*, which was equated with the Holy Land since it resembles the same area.

### *Using Aelia*

Mu'awiyah Ibn Ṣāliḥ (d. 158AH/ 775CE)

Mu'awiyah Ibn Ṣāliḥ, as mentioned in the previous section, used to discourage the use of the name Aelia and endorsed the use of Bayt al-Maqdis. From this there seems to have been a movement amongst Muslims that discouraged the usage of some names that dated back to the pre-Islamic eras - not just for this city alone but even for the city of the Prophet which was known before the Prophet migrated to it as *Yathrib*. The first record that discourages the use of the name Aelia was that of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, as mentioned in a previous section. He would say the name Aelia should not be used and would give his reasons for this. However the explanation of Mu'awiyah was must stronger on why the name should not be used.

Abū al-'Alā' Al-Ma'aṇī (d. 449 AH/ 1057 CE)

Abū al-'Alā', who was a famous poet, mentions in one of his poems, the name al-Quds, as the place where God spoke to Moses. However as it is well known that Moses never entered al-Quds, this will be ignored as it seems that he is referring to the holy valley and not to al-Quds, the entity.

Al-Maqdisī (d. 390 AH/ 1000 CE)

Al-Maqdisī regularly used both Bayt al-Maqdis and *al-Quds*. This is in addition to Aelia which he used in two contexts: the city and the region. In the context of the city it was mentioned by him many times (Appendix 1.2). As for the region he also mentions it many times, some of these are listed in Appendix 1.3. It is thus clear that al-Maqdisī and others were still aware of the previous names and utilised them with more than one meaning. However, these names have died out in most of the writings and hardly exist in others.

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<sup>12</sup> Peace Be Upon Him

## Conclusion

During this period the name Bayt al-Maqdis continued to be popular, especially in written literature. This name had to compete with the new name al-Quds that was officially recognised in the year 217 AH. Al-Quds was taking precedence and it grew to become the predominant name amongst the public. This new name also had the effect of slowly eliminating the name Aelia from the public domain, and reduced its use to a few references. This is normally the case with new names; if they are accepted and used, they force older names to die out eventually from day to day usage in the public sphere, and they become constrained to being referred to as once being a common name.

There was an increase in explicit reference to the region by using the term *Ard*, land, or *Bilad* (counties) in front of the name. This however did not mean the complete abrogation of using the name of the city to refer to the region; this continued. Indeed, the first detailed account of the extent of this region used just the term al-Quds to refer to it. These accounts meant a change in the understanding of this region from a place not clearly defined to one that was.

Also another name that had always carried a single connotation changed to include another connotation. This was the case with the term which used to exclusively refer to al-Aqsa Mosque, *al-Bayt al-Muqadas*, as it had the definite article, *al*, in front. In the following period this term is taken a step further and another connotation is added.



# DEVELOPMENT OF THE NAMES OF ISLAMICJERUSALEM: FROM THE CRUSADES UNTIL THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD (500-1300 AH)

This chapter includes accounts from the time of the Crusades (~500 AH/ 1107 CE) until the end of the Ottoman reign (~ 1300 AH/ 1900 CE). However, it does not follow the same structure as previous chapters, for many reasons. The first is that, since the period covered is the longest, and literature from this period is considerably more than that covered so far, it would be impossible to cover it in the same manner. In addition, most of the sources are simply a repetition of earlier accounts. Thus this section will look at the overall use of these names throughout this period and will concentrate on rare usages of these names and the introduction of new ones.

## **The introduction of the name "al-Quds al-Sharīf"**

The introduction of the name *al-Quds al-Sharīf* (al-Quds the noble) can be dated to during the preparations to regain IslamicJerusalem by the Muslims, which eventually took place in 583AH/ 1187CE. This could be due to the fact that the Muslims had lost the city and were eager to retrieve it, therefore exalting it by naming it so. The name has continued to be used until today by many people.

The meaning of the addition *Sharīf* is noble, and was not just used for al-Quds but for many things considered noble. As explained by al-Qalaqashandī in the ninth Muslim century *Sharīf* was used for many things in that period such as the Qur'an, knowledge, Makkah, Madinah and even things decreed by the Sultan (al-Qalaqashandī 1987, v.6:177).

*Al-Harawī (d.611 AH/ 1214CE)*

Ali al-Harawī is probably the first to have used this name in this form. He actually visited al-Quds during the crusaders occupation of the city, namely in the year 569AH/1174, fourteen years before the Muslim regained it. In his book on sites to visit around the Muslim world he names a section (al-Harawī 1953: 24):

زيارات القدس الشريف وما حوله

*Ziyarat* (sites to visit in) *al-Quds al-Sharif* and the area round about it

From his quotation it can be deduced that he is referring to the city, as can be seen from the section that follows which talks of the mosques and churches within the city, and does not extent to areas away from the city.

*Ibn Zafīr al-Azdī (d. 613 AH/ 1216CE)*

Ibn Zafīr al-Azdī tells of a new post that had this new form of the name within it. In his book he speaks of the Judge ‘Abd al-Rahīm Ibn Shith as the *Nāẓir al-Quds al-Sharif* (al-Azdī nd:76). This is an official appointment and could date from the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Thus it would be an official title; however, the question arises as to when he was appointed and given this title, and when was it first used. Nevertheless it seems to refer to the city; however, the position of *Nāẓir* (superintendent) normally covered a large area of which the city was only one central part. This position later on expanded to cover *al-Khalil*, Hebron.

*Ibn Shaddād (d. 632AH/ 1235CE)*

Ibn Shaddād was the personal secretary of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and one of the first to use the name *al-Quds al-Sharif* frequently. In his biography of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn he mentions it in this form twenty times; some are in Appendix 1.4. He employs *al-Quds al-Sharif* in the same way that he uses the name al-Quds on its own. It applies to the city in most if not all these cases, as can be clearly understood from the contexts. He mentions a small village close to the walled city and differentiates between it and *al-Quds al-Sharif*; he also tells of the governmental court which would be in the city, and talks of the Eid prayer which is normally carried out in the city. He discusses certain historical incidents in which he clearly refers to the city or sites within it. In addition to using the word *Sharif* with the name *al-Quds*, Ibn Shaddād also sometimes adds *Ḥarasaba Allah* "May God the Exalted protect it". Thus this gives the

impression that *al-Quds al-Sharīf* was used in a similar way to exalt its position.

*Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah (d. 668 AH/ 1270CE)*

In his book on biographies of medics he talks of Najm al-Dīn Ibn al-Lalboudi, and mentions one of his poems (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah nd:437):

ونظمه في القدس الشريف

And he composed it in *al-Quds al-Sharīf*

Here he is referring to a poem composed in the year 666 AH, and the place where it was written. He states this was composed in *al-Quds al-Sharīf*, which must refer to the city as there is no evidence that it is other than the city.

*Ibn Khilīkān (d. 681 AH/ 1282 CE)*

With time the use of the name *al-Quds al-Sharīf* was becoming more popular; a hundred years after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn many authors were using this form of the name as well as other forms. Ibn Khilīkān uses it a few times (Appendix 1.5). He mainly talks of the city, and uses this name when talking about the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as well as prior times. In the first instance he tells of a person who died and was buried within the city. The second instance is of a man who died in North Syria and was buried in *al-Quds al-Sharīf*, the city, in the fourth Muslim century. In the third citation he discusses the Conquest of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, mentioning that preachers contested for presenting the Friday sermon; in this case he is clearly referring to the city. Finally he talks of Ibn Shaddād being appointed as the judge of the army and to rule in al-Quds al-Sharīf. All these citations refer to the city and nothing more than its close vicinity.

Although the author refers to times before the Crusades and uses the term *al-Quds al-Sharīf*, this does not mean that this was the term used for those historical periods.

*Ibn Shaddād II (d.684 AH/1285)*

Ibn Shaddād was also a historian who died around fifty years after the first Ibn Shaddād; he too mentions *al-Quds al-Sharīf* many times in his book (Appendix 1.6). Again in all these instances he refers mainly to the city and *only* the city, as is clear from the text and their contexts. He talks of many things: the evacuating of the city from its inhabitants, the rock within al-Aqsa Mosque and so on. He clearly distinguishes in one of the

citations between the city of al-Quds and Ramla. All these references merely refer to the walled city and its close vicinity.

*Al-Salmī (died after 685 AH/ 1286CE)*

Al-Salmī in his book about al-Mahdi refers to this city over thirty times, in one of which he uses the form *al-Quds al-Sharīf* where he states (al-Salmī n:44):

ثم يتوجه المهدي من مدينة القاطع إلى القدس الشريف.... وينزل المهدي بالقدس الشريف، ويقوم بها

Then al-Mahdi would head from the city of al-Qatī' to *al-Quds al-Sharīf*...and al-Mahdi arrives in al-Quds al-Sharīf and he resides in it

Here again reference seems to be the city, as can be surmised from the context and the connotation between it and another city, *al-Qatī'*. It can also be deduced from other narrations that al-Mahdi was based within the city itself.

*Al-Youninī (d.726 AH/ 1326 CE)*

Al-Youninī uses *al-Quds al-Sharīf* in this form in his book *Dhail Mir'at al-Zamān* over ten times; some are listed in Appendix 1.7. In these instances *al-Quds al-Sharīf* again means the city itself as can be inferred from the contexts, as he talks of places that are nearby and distinguishes between them and *al-Quds al-Sharīf*. He talks of renovations in al-Quds al-Sharīf and only mentions sites within the city. Thus again the term simply refers to the city.

*Abū al-Fidā' (d.732 AH/1332 CE)*

Abū al-Fidā' was a historian and he talks of al-Quds many times. However, in just a few cases he speaks about it in the form *al-Quds al-Sharīf* (Abū al-Fidā' nd, v.2: 217, 245, 275):

وفيهما وصلت إلى حماة في يوم السبت عاشر صفر، عائداً من الحجاز الشريف، بعد زيارة القدس الشريف والخليل...

And in this year I have arrived to *Hammah* on Saturday the tenth of Safar, on my way back from *al-Hijaz al-Sharīf* after visiting *al-Quds al-Sharīf* and *al-Khalil*

أرسلت وطلبت من السلطان دستوراً لزيارة القدس الشريف

I sent and asked the Sultan for permission to go and pay a visit to *al-Quds al-Sharīf*

والقاضي شرف الدين أبو بكر بن محمد بن الشهاب محمود الحلبي، كاتب السر وكييل بيت المال بدمشق، توفي

بالقدس الشريف،

The Judge Sharaf al-Dīn [...] died in al-Quds al-Sharīf

Here again he seems to be talking of the city, as is clear from his following sentences where he continues to talk of the city of Hebron and



distinguishes between it and *al-Quds al-Sharif*. The other two citations also seem to refer to the city as well when referring to the place of burial and when writing to the sultan for permission to go to this honourable place.

Abū al-Fidā' seemed to have mainly used this form with the word *Sharif* when talking of a religious matter as a sign of respect, since he also used it for al-Ḥijaz in exactly the same way in the first citation.

*Al-Nuwayrī (d. 732 AH/ 1332CE)*

Al-Nuwayrī talks of al-Quds many times in his book; however in a few cases he talks of *al-Quds al-Sharif*: some instances are listed in Appendix 1.8. In those citations it is clear from the context that he is referring to the city. He speaks of the Sultan being in the city and visiting its noble sites. He tells of Christian pilgrims who come discreetly to the city on pilgrimage, and finally he mentions one of the Ayyūbid rulers who died in the city and was buried in his endowment within the walled city. Therefore, again, all the references are only to the city.

*Al-Balawī (d. 740 AH/ 1339-40CE)*

Al-Balawī mentions *al-Quds al-Sharif* nearly always in this form in his book, and hardly ever mentions another form of the name except when quoting someone else (Appendix 1.9). Once he states explicitly that he is referring to the city, by stating the word *madinat*, city, before *al-Quds al-Sharif*. He then proceeds to use *al-Quds al-Sharif* without the word city in the same paragraph, while meaning the city. There is no evidence in any of the other citations that he means more than the city. However, he mentions the sanctuary of *al-Quds al-Sharif*, referring to the sites within al-Aqsa Mosque or the mosque itself which is within the city.

*Al-Dhahabī (d. 748 AH/ 1348 CE)*

Al-Dhahabī was a very famous historian and mentions al-Quds hundreds of times, and in the form *al-Quds al-Sharif* a few times, in his book *Tarikh al-Islam* (Appendix 1.10). In all these cases he seems to be referring to the city, when talking about its governors, or its being a place to visit or of residence. There is no evidence in these citations that he is talking about more than the city.

*Al-ʿUmarī (d.749AH/ 1349CE)*

Al-ʿUmarī is one of the first people to talk of *al-Quds al-Sharif* as something more than the city; he speaks of it as a region. In his well-known book *Masālik al-Aḥṣār* he states at the start of a detailed account

on its limits (al-ʿUmarī 1986: 208-9):

والقدس الشريف الأرض المقدسة مشتملة على مدينة القدس وما حوله

*Al-Quds al-Sharif*, the Holy Land encompasses the city of al-Quds and the area around it

بيت لقياء، من عمل القدس الشريف

Bayt Liqyah is part of the 'Amal of *al-Quds al-Sharif*

دير المصَلَّبة وهو بظاهر مدينة القدس الشريف و في شامها بغرب

Al-Musalabah Abbey is on the outskirts of the City of al-Quds al-Sharīf to the North-West

The usage of *al-Quds al-Sharif* here clearly refers to a region which is equated to the Holy Land. This is the first time that there is a concrete reference to al-Quds al-Sharīf being a region. It is clear that *al-Quds al-Sharif* was used for the region and *al-Quds* – on its own – for the city. He also mentions *Bayt Liqyah* as being part of the extent of *al-Quds al-Sharif* of the time. *Al-Quds al-Sharif* being referred to as a region is not in line with all the citations where *al-Quds al-Sharif* was used to refer to the city for over a hundred years; this however might mean that he was trying to revive the concept. In the final citation he mentions the city and refers to it as *Madinat* (city of) *al-Quds al-Sharif*. Also he mentions that the Abbey of al-Musalabah, which is 5km from the city, is on the outskirts of the city of al-Quds al-Sharīf.

*Al-Ṣafadī* (d. 764 AH/ 1363CE)

In all his writings al-Ṣafadī uses the name al-Quds extensively. However the name al-Quds al-Sharīf he uses just over twenty times; some are listed (Appendix 1.11). He mentions the title *Nāẓir Amqaf al-Quds al-Sharif wal-Khalīl*, the superintendent of the endowments of al-Quds al-Sharīf and Hebron, an official title which was used during his lifetime. The title clearly distinguishes between al-Quds and al-Khalīl, and thus it can be surmised that here it most likely refers to al-Quds the city. In the other citation he mentions al-Quds al-Sharīf and connotes it with sites within the walled city, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, al-Aqsa Mosque, schools and even inns. Therefore it can be concluded that he used al-Quds al-Sharīf to refer only to the city.

*Ibn Rafīʿ al-Salamī* (d.774 AH/ 1372 CE)

Ibn Rafīʿ used both al-Quds and *al-Quds al-Sharif* alternately; he mentioned *al-Quds al-Sharif* in his book *al-Wafayat* only a few times (Appendix 1.12). He distinguished, as did the others, between *al-Quds al-Sharif* the city and other cities in the area. He mentions people who died

in *al-Quds al-Sharif* between the years 737-773 AH, most of whom died within the Old City, such as the one who died in *Ribāṭ al-Kurd*. However, he does not specify this for all; they were mostly buried just outside the Old City in *Mamillah* cemetery. Thus, in all his uses of the name *al-Quds al-Sharif*, he refers to the walled city and its close vicinity.

*Ibn Baṭūṭa (d.777AH/ 1375-6CE)*

Ibn Baṭūṭa was a very famous traveller and he used the name *al-Quds* many times, though he also used the form *al-Quds al-Sharif* a few times (Appendix 1.13). Here again it can be surmised from the contexts that he is referring to the city, and there is no evidence it might be more than that. The first citation was a heading for a section in his book, and in that section he only mentions sites inside the city or very close by it on the Mount of Olives and the Kidron Valley. So again reference is to the walled city and its close vicinity.

*Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 787 AH/ 1385 CE)*

Ibn al-ʿAdīm mentions *al-Quds* many times, though in the form *al-Quds al-Sharif* infrequently. He mentioned it once when talking about the place of burial of a person, (Ibn al-ʿAdīm nd:882):

ودفن بمقابر ماملا ظاهر القدس الشريف

And he was buried in the cemetery of Mamillah on the outskirts of *al-Quds al-Sharif*

This cemetery is next to the walled city, and he considered it to be the outskirts of *al-Quds al-Sharif*, which can surely mean that he was referring here to the city and nothing more. This was also the case in the following citation, where he also refers to the walled city and a site within it (Ibn al-ʿAdīm nd: 1118)

أخبرنا أبو علي حسن بن أحمد الأوقى بالمسجد الأقصى بالقدس الشريف

I was told by Abū Ali Hassan Ibn Aḥmad al-Awqī inside al-Aqsa Mosque in al-Quds al-Sharif

*Ibn Rajab al-Hanbalī (d. 795 AH)*

He mentions in his book *Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Hanābilah* that al-Youninī (Ibn Rajab 1997:293):

فعزم على إلى القدس الشريف... فخرجت معه إلى القدس

And he persisted to head to *al-Quds al-Sharif*... and I headed with him to al-Quds

Here again reference seems to be only to the city. He also used the name al-Quds al-Sharīf in the same connotation as the name al-Quds.

*Al-Qalqashandī (d.821 AH/ 1418 CE)*

Al-Qalqashandī also uses the name al-Quds frequently, but he also used the form of al-Quds al-Sharīf over twenty times; some are listed in Appendix 1.14. Mostly his references are to the city; however in the citations quoted he refers to a region, as a *Niyābah*, *Wilāyah* or in the final citation as *Mammlakah*. The first two are of the administrative Mamlūk district of al-Quds al-Sharīf. The reference to it as a *Mammlakat*, Kingdom of al-Quds al-Sharīf, refers probably to the same area as the other two, the administrative boundaries of the district. This was deduced from the continuation of the sentence where he refers to al-Karak, Hebron, Nablus, al-Atroun, Jaffa, Safad, Damascus and Aleppo as kingdoms (al-Qalqashandī 1987: v.14:58), where in actual fact each had a district around it, normally relatively small. Thus he would have been referring to the administrative districts of the time.

*Al-Maqrīzī (d.845 AH/ 1442 CE)*

He mentions the name al-Quds hundreds of times in this form, and as *al-Quds al-Sharīf* only a few times, one of which is as follows (al-Maqrīzī nd: 1375):

كتاب الخان شاه رخ ملك المشرق، يتضمن أنه عازم على زياد القدس الشريف

In the letter of al-Khan Shah Rakh the king of the East, it states that he is resolved to visit al-Quds al-Sharīf

Here he refers to a letter from al-Khan Shah Rakh who intended to visit al-Quds al-Sharīf, and this would refer to the city as is the case with most of the citations of the name al-Quds. Thus he used the name al-Quds al-Sharīf in the same contexts.

*Al-‘Aynī (d. 855 AH/ 1451 CE)*

Al-‘Aynī uses the names al-Quds and al-Quds al-Sharīf alternately, He used al-Quds al-Sharīf over twenty times, some being listed in Appendix 1.15. In all the quoted citations and the other ones, reference is clear as being to the city or its close vicinity, as is also clear when referring to al-Aqsa Mosque or the Holy Sepulchre and the inn within the walled city. Reference to the city's outskirts was made when mentioning al-Musalabah Abbey which is 5 km from the walled city. Also he distinguished between al-Quds al-Sharīf and al-Khalīl, strengthening the argument that reference was most probably to the city.

*Ibn Taghrī Bardī (d. 874 AH/ 1470 CE)*

Ibn Taghrī Bardī mentioned al-Quds countless times and used al-Quds al-Sharīf nearly forty times. Most of his usage refers to the city of al-Quds al-Sharīf; some of his words clarify this, especially when he clearly specifies a site within the Old City, such as when he states (Ibn Taghrī Bardī 1992, v.12:259; v.14:319):

وولي مشيخة الصلاحية بالقدس الشريف إلى أن مات به

And he took the position as the Shaikh of *al-Ṣalāḥīyah* [School] in al-Quds al-Sharīf until he died

ومدرس المدرسة الصلاحية بالقدس الشريف

The teacher in *al-Ṣalāḥīyah* School in al-Quds al-Sharīf

In both these cases reference is to the Ṣalāḥīyah School established by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the Old City. Most of his other citations follow suit and refer to the city or its close vicinity.

*Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH/ 1505 CE)*

Al-Suyūṭī was a very famous author who wrote many books in many disciplines, and he mentioned many names of al-Quds. He used mainly the name al-Quds in most of his writings; however, al-Quds al-Sharīf in this form was mentioned only a few times – once when talking about the famous lakes, he states (al-Suyūṭī nd2: 13):

وبحيرة القدس الشريف وبحيرة حمص وانطاكية

And the lake of al-Quds al-Sharīf and the lake of Aleppo and Antioch

In this case he is talking of a lake that belonged to al-Quds al-Sharīf, but there are no lakes close by, except for the Dead Sea known as Stinking Lake or the Lake of Zoar; however, he mentions this earlier, so it has to be a different lake. There are small pools close by to the city, called *birak Sulayman*, Solomon's Pools, but none of these can be considered a lake. Locating the site of this lake would clarify what he is talking of, but since there are no lakes close by, it must be assumed that he is talking about a region.

The other usage of al-Quds al-Sharīf was when discussing the conquests of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, (al-Suyūṭī nd:212):

واسرّد منهم ما كانوا استولوا عليه من بلاد الإسلام بالشام. من ذلك القدس الشريف فتحه، بعد أن كان في يد الفرنج

and he recovered from them what they had captured from the land of Islam in al-Sham, from that is the conquest of al-Quds al-Sharīf after it was under the control of the Franks

Here reference is clearly to the city, as names other cities later that were conquered by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

*Al-Ḥanbalī (d.927AH/ 1521CE)*

Al-ʿUmarī was not the only one who talked explicitly of *al-Quds al-Sharīf* as a region; al-Ḥanbalī also talks of a region of *al-Quds al-Sharīf*, in which he gives a detailed description of its administrative limits. He states before he gives the exact administrative limits at his time (al-Ḥanbalī, 1999: v.2, 148):

وأما الحدود المنسوبة لبيت المقدس عرفاً مما يطلق عليه عمل القدس الشريف

As for the boundaries associated customarily with Bayt al-Maqdis which is named as 'Amal *al-Quds al-Sharīf* ...

Although he differs as to the extent of this region with al-ʿUmarī, only the concept is of interest at the moment. The discussion on the extent and dimension will be examined later.

*Inscription on Dome of the Prophet (945AH/ 1538CE)*

Many inscription and documents from this era are revealing of what was the official name used by the Ayyūbids, Mamlūks and Ottomans. One inscription dating back to the Ottoman era is found in al-Aqsa Mosque in the Platform of the Dome of the Rock. This is found in the foundation stone of the Dome of the Prophet, in which the following is engraved (Tütüncü 2006:155):

أنشأ هذا المحراب المبارك مولانا ملك الأمراء الكرام محمد بك صاحب لواء غزة وقدس شريف زيد قدرهما بتاريخ في  
سنة 945

This Blessed Mihrab was constructed by our Master, king of the noble emirs, Muhammad Bīk, the governor of the Liwāʾ of Gaza and *Quds Sharīf* –may their rank be augmented- in the year 945.

This inscription talks of the administrative district of Quds Sharīf (Noble Quds) without the definite article *al* in both terms. The statement also shows that at this time the district was adjoined with that of the district of Gaza.

*Ibn Ṭulūn (d. 953 AH/ 1546 CE)*

Ibn Ṭulūn also uses both names alternately; he used the name al-Quds al-Sharīf in his book *Mufakabat al-Khilān* around eight times, some being quoted in Appendix 1.16. In those citations it is obvious that reference is to the city, as is explicitly stated when mentioning the site of the Holy

Sepulchre. Also, as has been mentioned, people were exiled to al-Quds al-Sharīf; it was known during the time of the Mamlūks that people were expelled into the city.

*Inscription on Sabil Sha'lan (1037AH/ 1627CE)*

Another inscription found in al-Aqsa Mosque compound dating back to the Ottoman era is the renovation of a Sabil (water fountain). The Sabil was renovated by the orders of the governor of Egypt through the local governor who engraved his name on it, as below (Tütüncü 2006:165):

... فعمر بمباشرة ملك الأمراء الكرام حضرة محمد باشا المحافظ بالقدس الشريف في ذي الحجة لسنة 1037

... It has been restored under the direction of the king of the noble emirs, his Excellency Muhammad Pasha, the governor in *al-Quds al-Sharīf* in the month of Dhul al-Hijja in the year 1037.

This inscription talks of the administrative district of al-Quds al-Sharīf and its governor. By engraving this name, it shows that it was popular and was used officially.

*Al-Tilmisānī (d.1041AH/ 1632CE)*

Aḥmad Ibn al-Maqrī al-Tilmisānī mentioned many of the names for Islamic Jerusalem and equated two together, stating (al-Tilmisānī nd, v.1: 13):

ثم غزا إيليا - وهي القدس الشريف Then he invaded Aelia which is *al-Quds al-Sharīf*

The reason why he used Aelia is because he was talking about a period before the Muslim conquest. After mentioning this ancient name he then gave it its name of the time *al-Quds al-Sharīf*. From the context it can be surmised that he is referring to the city as he continues to aver that it was destroyed.

*Al-Ghazī (d.1061AH/1651CE)*

Al-Ghazī also talks of Bilād al-Quds and Bilād al-Quds al-Sharīf, and uses them alternately, which implies that he is talking of the same thing. He states in his book on the biographies of the tenth Muslim century (al-Ghazī nd: 296, 355, 433):

عبد العزيز المقدسي ... وتوفي بالقدس الشريف في العشر الأوسط من شوال سنة ثمان وأربعين وتسعمائة.

‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Maqdisī ... He died in *al-Quds al-Sharīf*

محمد بن الحصكفي ... عالم بلاد القدس الشريف، وابن عالمها، وأحد الخطباء بالمسجد الأقصى

Muhammad Ibn al-Ḥaṣḥakfī ... the Scholar of *Bilād al-Quds al-Sharīf* and the son of its Scholar, and one of the preachers in al-Aqsa Mosque

سليمان باشا ابن قباد .... ولي نيابة القدس الشريف مدة طويلة، وضبط نواحيها

Sulayman Basha Ibn Qabad ... he became the viceroy of the *Niyābah* (Lieutenancy) of al-Quds al-Sharīf for a very long time and he controlled its sub-districts well

Here he talks first most probably of the city, though in the second and third citations of a region. The second citation refers to the counties, *Bilād*, of *al-Quds al-Sharīf* which seem to make up a large area. In the third extract he is talking of the administrative *Niyābah* which would be slightly smaller than the counties of al-Quds al-Sharīf.

#### *Inscription in the Old Aqsa (1114AH/ 1702CE)*

Another inscription after the renovation of the Old Aqsa was engraved after the renovation was complete in the year 1702. Again this records the name al-Quds al-Sharīf, as below (Tütüncü 2006:99):

... فقد جدد عمارة هذا المسجد الشريف العتيق ... السيد محمود افندي الشهير بواني زاده القاضي حالا بالقدس الشريف ...

... The renovation of this ancient noble mosque...the Sayyid Mahmoud Afandī – known as Wanizadah- the current Judge in *al-Quds al-Sharīf*...

This inscription talks of the Judge of al-Quds al-Sharīf, who took an active role in the renovation of the old mosque.

#### *Inscription in the Old City (1144AH/ 1731CE)*

This inscription is found on the wall of a Tomb in the courtyard of the Uzbek Zawiyah, in which it states (Tütüncü 2006:144):

امر بانشاء هذه القبة اللطيفة عين الأعيان العظام جناب الحاج مصطفى اغا زاده قيم مقام القدس الشريف ...  
The construction of this elegant dome was ordered by the distinguished amongst the greatest notables, his Excellency al-Hāj Mustafa Agha Zadah, *Qaym Maqām al-Quds al-Sharīf*...

This inscription talks of the governor (Qā'im Maqām) of al-Quds al-Sharīf, who initiated this dome over the grave of a famous Sufi Shaikh.

#### *Al-Maradī (d.1206 AH/ 1791-2CE)*

Muhammad Khalīl Ibn Ali al-Maradī uses the name al-Quds very frequently and used *al-Quds al-Sharīf* many times –some are listed in Appendix 1.16. In all these cases, reference to the city is clear and also to its close vicinity, as most accounts refer to or mention the judge in *al-Quds al-Sharīf* whose jurisdiction could extend to the close areas around the city. However, the other accounts refer to the city as is clear in the



citation where he mentions the *Ṣalībiyah* School within the Old City. Moreover, al-Maradī mentions another form of the name when talking about Mustafa al-Bakrī (al-Maradī nd: 685):

And he resided in *al-Quds al-Musharafa*

وأقام في القدس المشرفة

Here al-Maradī, instead of using the term *Sharīf* (noble), uses *Musharafa* which has the same meaning but carries a reference to the provider of this nobility or honour. Thus giving the impression that it did not have this nobility previously but had it bestowed on it.

*Inscription in a Orphan School in the Old City (1286AH/ 1870CE)*

This inscription is found on the entrance of the Orphan School in the form of Turkish and Arabic poetry. In the Arabic part it states (Tütüncü 2006:127-131):

متصرف القدس الشريف بما أسر

The restoration of the House of  
Governance was initiated

دار الحكومة اذ سعى بعمارها

By the Mutaṣarif of al-Quds al-  
Sharīf ...

This inscription talks of the renovation of the house of governance by the Mutaṣarif (governor) of al-Quds al-Sharīf. The term Mutaṣarif refers to the independent district *Mutaṣarrifiyyāt al-Quds*.

In short, as can be seen, the development of the name al-Quds into *al-Quds al-Sharīf* was primarily affected by the occupation of the crusaders in this land. The term *noble* was attached to give a higher significance to the area for the hearer or reader. However, the name only took one form of the previous name al-Quds, which was for the city; thus it was nearly always (over 90 per cent) refereeing was to the walled city. At other times the name was used to refer to a region, sometimes on its own and at other times attached to other terms to indicate a region, such as *ʿAmal*, *Wilāyat* and *Mamlakah* to refer to the administrable district of al-Quds al-Sharīf, and the term *Bilād* to refer to the general area.

This name made a slow start but built up momentum with time and was one of the common names by the time of the Mamlūks. It became very widespread in the Ottoman period, due to the fact that the Ottomans were fascinated by the term *Sharīf*, nearly always connecting it with anything they wanted to exalt. Thus they did not need to start from scratch with the name al-Quds as they had to with many locations; they already had a headstart with this city.

### Use of the Name 'al-Quds'

The use of the name al-Quds carried very similar connotations to that of the previous period, and continued to be used in a very similar way; it was used for the city primarily. Except for a few, most of those who used the name al-Quds al-Sharīf to refer to the city, as shown in the previous section, also used the name al-Quds without the al-Sharīf, to refer to the city as well. Other authors during this period also used the name al-Quds in their writings when referring to the city, and they are in thousands.

Most authors from this period used this form of the name "al-Quds" to refer to the city, not many used it to mean anything other than the city. Therefore those who have used the name al-Quds to refer more than the city are listed here, plus some of those who used it to refer to the city just to show that it was the norm during this period.

It must be noted that the name al-Quds continued to be the most popular name used in the writings across this period to refer to the walled city and its close vicinity, sometimes with the term al-Sharīf attached to it. Thus it is likely that al-Quds was the most popular name used by the people of the time.

There are also many records of this name written down in both Mamlūk and Ottoman eras, in both surviving official documents and inscription. The inscriptions use different names, many use the name al-Quds on its own (Tütüncü 2006: 101,156,177,183,198), some use al-Quds al-Maḥrous, al-Quds al-Sharīf or Bayt al-Maqdis.

*Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571AH/ 1176CE)*

In his book he mentions al-Quds to mainly refer to the city, though he also mentions it together with additional terms to refer to more than the city; he quotes Nāsir Ibn Muhammad Abū al-Makārim as stating (Ibn 'Asākir 1998, v.61:388-9):

وتقلدت القضاء بفلسطين وبلاد القدس في غرة الحرم سنة خمس وثلاثين وثلثمائة

And I have taken the position of Judge in Palestine and *Bilād al-Quds* In the beginning of Muharam in the year 335

In this case he quotes someone in the fourth century who distinguishes between Palestine and al-Quds, but most likely in this period it would have been part of it. However, he properly mentions both because of the significance of the latter. Moreover he mentions counties in the plural, *Bilād al-Quds*, the counties of *al-Quds*, therefore referring to a large area.

*Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. 589AH/ 1193CE)*

He is quoted as using the name al-Quds in this form in some of his letters. One was addressed to the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad informing him of the conquest of al-Quds (al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.6:497):

ولما لم يبق إلا القدس وقد اجتمع اليها كل شريد منهم وطريد واعتصم بمنعتها

And when nothing was left except al-Quds, which every runaway and destitute gathered in, and took refuge in its fortification ...

Here reference is clearly to the city, as is explained in the rest of the sentence when talking about the fortification. Also before this the letter, and at the start of this sentence, reference is made to the fact that all other areas were captured except for the city of al-Quds. Therefore it can be inferred that reference here is to the city.

In another of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's letters, this time to King Richard the Lion Heart around the year 581 AH/ 1191CE, he wrote (Ibn Shaddād 2000:152):

Al-Quds is ours just as much as it is yours

القدس لنا كما هو لكم

The negotiation here concerned the city itself and discussion was on this point of the negotiation (Abū-Munshar 2005: 88-90), as can be understood from the rest of the letter.

*Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597 AH/ 1201 CE)*

Ibn al-Jawzī wrote many books, two of which were about Islamic Jerusalem. One he named al-Quds; he called it (Ibn al-Jawzī 1979):

*Faḍā'il al-Quds* (Excellences of al-Quds)

فضائل القدس

In the book he mainly talks of the city and its close surroundings. But also of the region, for this he dedicates a section entitled "the raids of Moses on *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*".

At the start of his book he states that he wrote the book at the request of some Jerusalemites to write on the excellences of Bayt al-Maqdis. Therefore, it should be taken to refer to the city, and his reference to the region will be discussed in one of the following sections.

*Al-ʿImad al-Aṣḥabānī (d. 597 AH/ 1201CE)*

Al-ʿImad al-Aṣḥabānī wrote many books, one of which he named *al-Fatḥ al-Qusī fī al-Fatḥ al-Qudsī*, and he uses the form Qudsī (Jerusalemite) derived from al-Quds to refer to the conquest itself. In another book

*Kharidat al-Qaṣr wa-Jaridat al-Aṣr*, he mentioned the poets of the sixth Muslim century up to the year 572AH, listing many who wrote about the situation at the time. One of those who mentioned al-Quds was Muhammad al-Qisaranī al-‘Akawī who states in a verse of poetry after the conquest of al-Ruha in praise of Jamāl al-Dīn the *Wazīr* of al-Musil (al-Aṣfahānī nd:328):

فَسَاحِلُهَا الْقُدْسُ وَالسَّاحِلُ      فَإِنْ يَكُ فَتَحَ الرُّهَا لُحَّةً  
and if he conquered al-Ruha unexpectedly      then on its shores is al-Quds and the coast

Here he is suggesting that its shores extend to al-Quds; this is a metaphorical comparison meaning that the conquests must have extended to cover al-Quds and the coast.

Another poet quoted by al-Aṣfahānī was Naṣr al-Haytī al-Dimashqī (died after 565AH/ 1170 CE); he states in praise of Nur al-Dīn Zinkī (al-Aṣfahānī nd:357):

وَلَهُ بِأَرْضِ الْقُدْسِ فِيهِمْ وَقْعَةٌ      سَلَبْتُ مَلِكَهُمْ لَذِيذَ مَنَاوِمِهِ  
And in an occasion in the Ard of al-Quds he overwhelmed them      robbing from their King his restful sleep

He is suggesting that in *Ard al-Quds* Nur al-Dīn badly defeated the crusaders. However, Nur al-Dīn had never been near the city in all his life, most of his battles being fought in northern Syria. However, he had a few battles around the area of Karak, which is probably what is referred to here as *Ard al-Quds*. This is what can be understood from the use of the term *Ard al-Quds*, namely, that he does not mean the city at all, therefore reference is clearly to the region.

Another poet quoted by al-Aṣfahānī was the King Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar, he states (al-Aṣfahānī nd:667):

يَا كُنَّاها مَا الْعُدْرُ عَنْ عُدَّارِها      جَاءَتْكَ أَرْضُ الْقُدْسِ تَحْطُبُ نَاكِحاً  
Ard al-Quds came to you      O equals, there is no excuse on this virgin proposing [marriage]

This poetry is also metaphorical, since it is talking about a land seeking marriage; however, the use of the term *Ard al-Quds* implies that he is talking about a large area as was the case in the previous verse.

Another poet quoted by al-Aṣfahānī was al-Ṣāliḥ Abū al-Ghārāt Ṭalā‘ī Ibn Razīk; he states (al-Aṣfahānī nd:763):

عَلَيْهَا عَتَأُ الْخَيْلِ كَالْفَنَنِ السُّهْبِ      جَعَلْنَا جِبَالَ الْقُدْسِ فِيهَا وَقَدْ جَزَتْ  
And we made the mountains of al-Quds and on it ran      The feet of the horses like the speeding arrows

Here he is referring to the mountains of al-Quds where they ran many times with their horses over its steep and deep valleys, as he explains in the following verse.

*Al-Jalbānī (d.603 AH/ 1206-7CE)*

Abū al-Faḍl al-Jalbānī writes praising the achievements of the Ayyūbids and especially the conquest of al-Quds, he states:

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>من آل أصغر إذ حين به حانوا</p> <p>God is the greatest, <i>Ard al-Quds</i> is<br/>vacant</p> | <p>الله أكبر أرض القدس قد صفرت</p> <p>of the <i>Aāl Aṣḡar</i> [Franks] after<br/>they dwelled in it</p> |
|--|---|

Here he uses the term *Ard al-Quds* to refer to a large area, which he states has been emptied from the crusaders. From the context it can be considered that he is referring to a region.

*Al-Ḥamawī (d.626 AH/ 1229)*

Al-Ḥamawī mentions many names for al-Quds, and al-Quds as the city; however he often uses the name al-Quds to refer to a region (Appendix 1.17).

All the sites he mentions are not very close to the city: al-ʿAroub is twenty-two kilometres from the city of al-Quds; and so is Saʿir and al-Shuwaikah. Nablus and Shiḥan are much further away – Shiḥan is indeed on the other side of the Dead Sea. Therefore al-Quds in these passages is much more than the city, it is, in fact, referring to a large region.

*Ibn Shaddād (d. 632 AH/ 1235 CE)*

Ibn Shaddād used the name al-Quds interchangeably with *al-Quds al-Sharif*. He mentions al-Quds on its own over sixty times; a few are listed in Appendix 1.18.

Here al-Quds was again used to mean the city in almost every cases. In the quotations he talks once of the capture of the city, which was on a Friday. However, in one instance on one occasion he talks of *Ard al-Quds*, the land of al-Quds, when he is describing the digging of water wells within its land, and stating that it is all mountainous with very solid rock. Therefore he uses al-Quds to refer mainly to the city in most of his writings, but he does also refer to an area around the city.

*Ibn al-Biṭār (d.646 AH/ 1248 CE)*

In his book on medicines and diets this author mentions some herbs that come from the counties of al-Quds (Appendix 1.19). Both citations are

of plants that grow in the land of al-Quds, not in the city or its close surroundings, but extended to the Ghor which is beyond Jericho. However, once he refers to this land in the plural *Bilād* and the second time in the singular *balad*; this is because the first plants grow in most of the lands of al-Quds, the second grows in a specific land that is in the Ghor. Therefore here again reference is to the region around the city but not the city itself, and it is mentioned here as land(s)/county(ies) of al-Quds.

*Abū Shāmah al-Maqdisī (d. 665 AH/ 1267 CE)*

In his book Abū Shāmah mentions al-Quds as mainly referring to the city, though he once mentions another term that refers to more than the city; he states (Abū Shāmah 1997, v.1:63):

وبلغنا عن جماعة من الصوفية الذين يعتمد على أقوالهم ممن دخلوا ديار القدس للزيارة حكاية

And we heard a story from a group of reliable Mystics who visited *Ḍiyār al-Quds*

In this case he refers to the area as a whole as *Ḍiyār al-Quds*, which means territories of al-Quds, but with the city as its main focus.

*Al-Youninī (d.726 AH/ 1326 CE)*

Al-Youninī also mentions al-Quds mainly for the city, though a few times he mentions the province of al-Quds (Appendix 1.20). In both these citations and others in the book, whenever al-Quds is mentioned on its own, the city is meant, as is very clear from the quoted passages. Reference to a province of al-Quds was made by calling it 'Amal al-Quds. This province seems to refer to the administrative province, since it seemed to include many villages as can be understood from the texts.

*Ibn al-Firkāh (d.729 AH/ 1329 CE)*

Ibn al-Firkāh named a book on the excellences of Islamic Jerusalem (Ibn al-Firkāh 1935; al-'Asālī 1984:62):

باعث النفوس الى زيارة القدس المحروس

The reviver of the souls to visiting *al-Quds al-Mahrūs*

Here this author introduces yet another addition to the name al-Quds which is *Mahrūs*, meaning protected. The use of this addition is there to synchronise rhythmically with the first part of the title. Moreover, in the book he uses various names such as Bayt al-Maqdis, *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, all of which, together with al-Quds, he uses to refer to sites within the city or its close vicinity.

*Al-Nuwayrī (d. 732 AH/ 1332 CE)*

In his book *Nihayat al-Arb* this author mentions al-Quds and al-Quds al-Sharīf to refer mainly to the city, though he also mentions al-Quds together with other terms to refer to more than the city (Appendix 1.21). In these citations it is clear that whenever al-Quds is mentioned on its own it refers to the walled city. For the administrative province or district, reference was made to it as *A'mālīh*, its provinces, as was the case in the first citation. Also reference was made to *Arḍ al-Quds* in a line of poetry warning of the Crusaders taking it over again. This seems to refer to a large region much greater than the administrative districts. The third terminology used by al-Nuwayrī is *Bilād al-Quds*, when talking of the division of the land between al-Nāsir and al-Kamil, and he mentions some cities that were handed over from one to the other. He then talks of *Bilād al-Quds*, the counties of al-Quds, as being part of one of the divisions, and secondly when raising money to renovate the walls of the Old City. In both cases this terminology also seems to refer to a larger area than just the administrative district, one that might be equated with the term *Arḍ al-Quds*.

*Al-Dhahabī (d. 748 AH/ 1348 CE).*

In his books al-Dhahabī mentions al-Quds hundreds of times, and al-Quds al-Sharīf only a few. However, in most cases he refers mainly to the city, though he once implied a large region for al-Quds when he said under the section on the incidents of the year 377 AH (al-Dhahabī nd:2751):

كان العزيز صاحب مصر قد تأهب لغزو الروم... فلما دخلت سنة سبع وصلت رسل ملك الروم في البحر إلى ساحل القدس...

Al-Azīz, the ruler of Egypt, had prepared to attack the Romans ... And when the year [three hundred and seventy] Seven commenced, an envoy of the Roman King arrived via the sea to the **Coast of al-Quds**

Here he is implying that al-Quds had shores on the sea, and between the walled city and the sea is over fifty kilometres. So he would be taking one of the frontiers of al-Quds as being the Mediterranean Sea.

*Al-'Umarī (d.749AH/ 1349CE)*

Al-'Umarī, as mentioned previously, was one of the first to give dimensions for the region of al-Quds al-Sharīf. He also used another term that refers to a region of al-Quds; he states in his famous encyclopaedia (al-'Umarī 1986):

ورأيت عند الحافظ العلامة أبي سعيد العلائي - وعند سائر العلماء والصلحاء ببلاد القدس....

And I saw that the learned Scholar Abī Saʿīd al-ʿAlāʾī and all the Scholars and the pious in *Bilād al-Quds*...

Here the term *Bilād al-Quds*, counties of al-Quds, was used by al-ʿUmarī, and this would imply a large region around the city that would include many *Bilād* or towns.

*Ibn Shākir al-Katbī (d. 764 AH/1363CE)*

This author used the name al-Quds many times, all referring to the city. However, when he was once discussing what al-Nāsir Dawūd took over from the lands after he lost Damascus, he states (al-Katbī nd:132):

وسار إلى الكرك وكانت لوالده، وأعطني معها الصلت ونابلس وعجلون وأعمال القدس

And he went to al-Karak and it belonged his father and he was given with it al-Salt, Nablus, Ajloun and *Aʿmāl al-Quds*

Here reference is clearly to the administrative district of al-Quds during that time, which from the text reveals that it does not include Nablus.

*Ibn Rafīʿ al-Salamī (d.774 AH/ 1372 CE)*

Al-Salamī alternated between al-Quds and al-Quds al-Sharīf to refer to the city; he also referred to the administrative district when talking about a position that Ali Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Aṣfahānī accepted, stating (al-Salamī nd:69):

And he was the governor of *Wilāyat al-Quds*

وولي ولاية القدس

Here he talks of an official governmental position that this man was appointed to take. This would be for a certain well-known area, which would have been known then as the *Wilāyat*, district, of al-Quds.

*Al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 817 AH/ 1414 CE)*

Al-Fayrūzabādī wrote the famous Arabic dictionary *al-Qamūs al-Muḥīṭ*, he writes about most of the Arabic names and roots and meanings, listing a few that indicate the extent of al-Quds (Appendix 1.23). Most of these places he cites as being within al-Quds are quite far from the city. Khayran is situated north of Hebron about twenty-five kilometres from al-Quds, al-Duwarah and Taquʿ are also north of Hebron, Yaḳīn is south of Hebron and Jamaʿil is forty kilometres north of al-Quds. As for the other places, such as the Mountain of Shiḥan, it is situated in today's Jordan, east of the Dead Sea, and al-Sabaʿ refers to Beersheba. What is



striking here is that he places Beersheba between Karak and al-Quds – and it isn't–, and thus he either meant al-Quds the region or that it was on the route to al-Quds.

*Al-Qalqashandī (d.821 AH/ 1418 CE)*

Al-Qalqashandī mentions many narrations that refer to a region for al-Quds (Appendix 1.24). In the first citation, he starts off with the 'Amal, borough, of al-Quds and then moves on to discuss the boroughs of Hebron and Nablus. So he begins with the administrative limits and mentions Bethlehem as being within them. The first thing he discusses about this borough is the name of the city, stating that the familiar name for the city in his time for the city of Bayt al-Maqdis was now al-Qudus. In the second citation he talks of the Lieutenancy (*Niyābah*) of al-Quds and its upgrade from the small province (*Wilāyah*) that it was for a while. The extent of the *Niyābah* was much more than the *Wilāyah*; it now included the whole area of *Wilāyah* of Hebron. However both these terms refer to the administrative extents of the region of the time, which have changed frequently.

The fourth terminology used by al-Qalqashandī is *Bilād al-Quds*, and he includes Nazareth and Bethlehem as part of it, but in both citations he is referring to the *Christian* belief of the extent of this land. Thus he is equating the *Bilād al-Quds* with the Holy Land.

*Al-Maqrīzī (d.845 AH/ 1442 CE)*

In many of his books al-Maqrīzī mentions al-Quds mostly, and sometimes al-Quds al-Sharīf, to refer primarily to the city. He also mentions al-Quds, together with other terms, to refer to more than the city (Appendix 1.25). He uses *Bilād*, *Qurā*, 'Amal, A'māl and Arḍ of al-Quds, and thus is clearly talking of a region as well as an administrative district. In one of the citations he includes Hebron, Ramla and Bethlehem in al-Quds.

*Al-'Aynī (d. 855 AH/ 1451CE)*

Al-'Aynī mentions a selection of the names al-Quds and al-Quds al-Sharīf to refer mainly to the city, though he also uses the term *Bilād al-Quds* to refer to the region. He states under the incidents in the year 695 AH (al-'Aynī nd: 291):

ووصلت الأخبار من بلاد القدس والشام وصلت بتحسين الأسعار في الغلة

The news has arrived from *Bilād al-Quds* and al-Sham that the prices of the crops have improved

In this citation the author talks of *Bilād al-Quds*, the counties of al-Quds, and he compares them with the region of al-Sham.

*Ibn Taghrī Bardī (d. 874 AH/ 1469-70 CE)*

Ibn Taghrī Bardī mentioned al-Quds hundreds of times, mostly referring to the city, though he speaks of an incident where al-Quds was referred to as a large area that extended up to the coast. The incident, in the year 377AH when the Fatimid Caliph was preparing to go to Constantinople through the Mediterranean Sea, was when an emissary came from Constantinople to request peace; Ibn Taghrī Bardī states (Ibn Taghrī Bardī 1992, v.4:155):

وصلت رسل الروم في البحر إلى ساحل القدس بتقادم للعزير، ودخلوا مصر يطلبون الصلح،

a Roman envoy arrived via the sea to the **Coast of al-Quds**, heading for al-ʿAzīz and they entered Egypt asking for peace

Here he is implying, like al-Dhahabī, that al-Quds's limits extended to cover part of the shores of the Sea. Between the walled city and the Mediterranean Sea is over fifty kilometres as mentioned earlier. He was therefore considering al-Quds to be a large area.

*Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953 AH/ 1546CE)*

Ibn Ṭūlūn refers to the administrative position of *Naʿīb* (viceroys) of the *Niyābah* (Ibn Ṭūlūn nd:103, 144):

خضر بك الذي ولي نيابة القدس

Khadir Bayk the one who became the viceroy of the *Niyābah* (Lieutenancy) of **al-Quds**

جان بردي الغزالي، ومعه نيابة القدس، وكرك الشوبك... تولى يخشاي نائب صفد حجویة دمشق، عوضاً عن

جان بردي الغزالي، لغيته في نيابة القدس وغيرها.

Jan Bardī al-Ghazālī, had the *Niyābah* (Lieutenancy) of **al-Quds** in addition to Karak al-Shubak.... Yakhshbāī was given the responsibility of taking care of Damascus from Jan Bardī al-Ghazālī because he was away from it in *Niyābat* (Lieutenancy) **al-Quds** and other ones

As is obvious from the citations, reference is clearly to the administrative area that was attached to al-Quds during that time.

*Inscriptions in al-Aqsa Mosque (955 AH/ 1548CE – 990AH/1582CE)*

In the northern part of al-Aqsa Mosque Enclave beyond the Dome of the Rock, an inscription from the year 955 AH/ 1548CE of verses of poetry was found bearing the following (Ṭütüncü 2006:159):

The Amir of **Liwā' al-Quds**

أمير لواء القدس

It refers to the constructor and it is obvious from the citations, reference is clearly to the administrative area that would have been known as the *Liwā'* administratively.

Another inscription few decades later was engraved and placed in the Dome of the Rock, it bears the name al-Quds with another term (Tütüncü 2006:197):

In al-Quds al-Mahrūs

بالقدس المحروس

This term used with the name is *Mahrūs*, meaning protected as was used earlier by Ibn al-Firkāh.

*Al-Ghazī (d.1061AH/1651CE)*

Al-Ghazī talks of Bilād al-Quds in the same way he talked of Bilād al-Quds al-Sharīf, and he uses them alternately, which implies that he is speaking of the same thing. He states (al-Ghazī nd:296):

عبد العزيز المقدسي ... مفتي بلاد القدس.

‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Maqdisī ... the Muftī of *Bilād al-Quds*

Here he uses *Bilād al-Quds* to refer to an area much larger than the city, as can be surmised from the context and other usages of a similar term.

*Al-Nabulsī (d. 1143AH/1731 CE)*

In al-Nabulsī's famous book on explaining dreams, he mentions *Bilād al-Quds* and states that (al-Nabulsī nd, v.2: 241):

ومن رأى أنه في بلاد القدس وجبل طور سيناء فإنما سنة مقبلة عليه.

And whosoever sees that he saw *Bilād al-Quds* and mount Tur Sinai [in his dream], then it is a ...

Here again *Bilād al-Quds* seems to refer to a large geographical area.

*Ibn Kinān (d. 1153 AH/1740)*

Ibn Kinān also mentions *Bilād al-Quds* in his book, and he talks of an incident in Muharam 1131AH/ November 1718 CE (Ibn Kinān nd:80):

وبلغ خبر، أنه صار فتنة ببلاد القدس عظيمة

And some news came that a great tribulation had happened in *Bilād al-Quds*

He seems to be referring to some sort of trouble in the lands or counties of al-Quds, thus a region.

In short, as can be seen throughout this period, al-Quds was used many times in Muslim literature, mostly in reference to the city and only the city. However, over fifty citations quoted here and many others refer to a large area much greater than the city, though referred to in different terms, some purely administrative and others in a much wider sense. The administrative terms used with the name al-Quds are *ʿAmal*, *Aʿmāl*, *Wilāyat* and *Niyābah*. Those which refer to a larger area apart from the administrative area are *Balad*, *Bilād* and *Arḍ*. Thus even *within* citations referring to a region they are divided into two categories.

### Using 'lands of al-Quds'

Many have used different combinations with the name al-Quds to refer to the region. In the section on al-Quds many of these were listed, e.g. *Arḍ al-Quds* and *Bilād al-Quds*. This was very similar to those just quoted above of *Arḍ al-Maqdis*, *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*, *Bilād al-Maqdis* and *Diyār al-Quds*. This was even the case with some scholars who used many of these alternately such as Ibn Ḥazm (1999, v.1:263). However, another term was used to refer to this area; al-Qalqashadī was one of the first to mention it (1987, v.12:95) in a quotation from a letter written by *al-Qaḍī al-Faḍīl* at the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn:

ويتبين أن أمراء الدولة النورية يحتاج إليهم في فتح البلاد القدسية ضرورة

And it was apparent to the princes in the Nurī State that it is essential to conquer the *Bilād al-Qudsiyah*

A similar term was used often by al-Maradī who states, while talking about the Sufī Aḥmad al-ʿAlamī after taking the mystic path from his teacher (al-Maradī nd:75):

وجعله خليفة له في الديار القدسية

And he appointed him as his viceregent in *al-Diyār al-Qudsiyah*

He also stated (al-Maradī nd: 683, 685):

Then he moved to *al-Diyār al-Qudsiyah*

ثم رحل إلى الديار القدسية

He headed towards *al-Diyār al-Qudsiyah*

توجه إلى الديار القدسية

These terms refer to the region of al-Quds, in adjectival form however and emphasising the meaning of *Qudsiyah* (holiness). In addition to this,

it was used as a noun by many as *Diyār al-Quds*; some are listed above, a few more are listed below (Ibn al-ʿIbrī nd: 20; Ibn al-Sabounī nd: 3).

غزا سنحاريب ملك اثور ديار القدس وبصلاة حزقيا خلصت اورشليم

Sinharīb the King of *Athor* invaded *Diyār al-Quds* and by the prayer of Hizqiyā Ur-Shaleem was saved

ديار القدس سقيت حياً برمادك

O *Diyār al-Quds* you have relinquished the thirst even with your cinders

Again in this case it gives reference to a wide region, although it does not specify certain locations within it – but clearly talks of a region in a similar way to the other term *al-Diyār al-Qudsiyah*.

### Use of Other Names during this period

Many names were still being used during this period, such as Bayt al-Maqdis with its various forms, as well as *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*. However, the name Aelia seemed to have completely vanished, and its use confined to history books and literature. It was still known and used to a limited extent by writers, especially when referring back to ancient times such as al-Zamakhsharī and al-Ṭilmisānī quoted above. Some attempted to use the name in the titles of their books, such as Muḥib al-Dīn al-Baghdadī (d. 643AH/ 1245CE) who entitled one of his books *Rawḍat al-Awliyā fi Masjid Iliyā*, which can be translated as the Garden of the pious in the Mosque of Aelia. However since the usage of the name Aelia was becoming very rare, more popular names will be discussed.

### Using 'Bayt al-Maqdis'

The name Bayt al-Maqdis continued to be popular during this period as well, due to the fact that it had been passed down in Prophetic traditions, and in early Muslim writing. It was thus inevitable that the name was nearly always mentioned in any writing on the merit of the area. It was often used in the titles of *Faḍāʾih*, al-ʿAsalī names over ten from this period (1984: 45-124). Also it was used in inscriptions two of which still survive in al-Aqsa Mosque within the Dome of the Rock from the Ottoman era (Tütüncü 2006:89,141). However the name became less and less common in the public sphere. Moreover, it was used in a very similar way to earlier eras, mainly referring to the city, but sometimes to the region. A few examples of the latter are shown here, since they are not well known. Al-Ḥamawī (d.626 AH/ 1229) refers to many villages away from the city Bayt al-Maqdis, as part of its region; he states (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.2:44, v.5:489):

تَقْوَعُ: ... من قرى بيت المقدس يضرب بجودة عسلها المثل.

Taqu': ... from the villages of Bayt al-Maqdis, it is very famous for its honey

يَاقِينَ: اخره نون: من قرى بيت المقدس بما مقام آل لوط النبي عليه السلام

Yaqīn: (with an N at the end): is one of the villages of Bayt al-Maqdis, in it is the shrine of Lot (PBUH)

Both these villages are quite far from the city; Taqu' is over twenty kilometres south of the city of Bayt al-Maqdis and Yaqīn is even further – it is south of the city of Hebron. He also mentions the villages of al-Ramilah, Šadr, Šubā, 'Aynūn and others. Scholars have also written of many other sites or villages that are part of Bayt al-Maqdis in similar vein. However Bayt al-Maqdis on its own became less popular as a connotation of the region in this period; other terms were attached to it to refer to the region as follows.

### Using Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis

This term appears to have been re-introduced in order to make the distinction between Bayt al-Maqdis the city or the mosque, and its lands. During this period many used the name to refer to the whole area, while others used it to refer to a site to indicate that it was part of this land; some are listed below. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538AH/1143-4CE) used this terminology many times in his books to refer to the area, and sometimes just a site within it. He explains the use of Prophet Shi'yā's use of the name Urā Shalm, saying (al-Zamakhsharī nd:45):

وهي أرض بيت المقدس ويقال لها فلسطين وأرض المحشر...

It is the land of Bayt al-Maqdis and it is also called Palestine and the land of al-Maḥshar...

He refers to Urā Shalm –an ancient name for the city– as the land of Bayt al-Maqdis. He states that it is also called Palestine as well as other names. In this single paragraph he refers to different names and equates them to the region. He goes further and equates two Qur'anic terminologies with the region of Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Zamakhsharī 1995, v.1:607; v.3:185):

الأرض المقدسة يعني أرض بيت المقدس

The Holy Land is Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis

الربوة ... قيل: هي إيليا أرض بيت المقدس

Al-Rabwah ... it is said it is Aelia, Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis

In these examples he refers to *al-Rabwa* as part of the land and the Holy Land as the region in its full extent.

Abū Ya‘lā Ibn al-Qalānsī (d. 555 AH/1160CE) also refers to a site and the area in general. He denotes the whole area when he refers to the Muslim losses in the Crusades and their efforts in the year 506AH/1112CE to defeat the Crusaders; he states (al-Qalānsī nd:113):

وسرايا الاسلام قد بلغت في النهيـض إلى أرض بيت المقدس ويافا

And the brigades of Islam have prepared to raise to *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* and Jaffa

In the second citation he refers to an incident in the year 513 AH, which took place in this land, stating (al-Qalānsī nd:124):

وفي هذه السنة حكى من ورد من بيت المقدس ظهور قبور الخليل وولديه إسحق ويعقوب الأنبياء عليهم الصلاة من الله والسلام وهم مجتمعون في مغارة بأرض بيت المقدس وكأنهم كالأحياء لم يبل لهم جسد

And in this year, someone came with the news from Bayt al-Maqdis that the tombs of *al-Khalil* [Abraham] and his two sons Isaac and Jacob (PBUT) have been exposed together in a cave in *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*, and their bodies are still intact as if they were alive...

This clearly refers to the city of Hebron, where Muslims believe Prophet Abraham was buried. Ibn al-Qalānsī or whoever narrated this to him referred to this site as being part of *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*. Many scholars such as Ibn Shaddād (d. 632AH/1235CE) and Ibn Taghrī Bardī (d. 874AH/1469-70CE) quote the same story with the same term *Arḍ al-Maqdis*. Al-Harawī also mentions the story, but in more detail (Al-Harawī 1953:30; Ibn Shaddād 1962:293).

Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597 AH/ 1201 CE) names a section in his book *Faḍā'il al-Quds* (Ibn al-Jawzī 1979: 110):

الباب الثالث عشر: في غزاة موسى أرض بيت المقدس

Section thirteen: on the raids of Moses on *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*

This would refer to the command of God to Moses to make his people enter the Holy Land, which Ibn al-Jawzī refers to as *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*.

He also mentions in another of his books a specific site as being part of the land of Bayt al-Maqdis; this is when he is talking about the march of the Israelites to conquer this land. He states (Ibn al-Jawzī 1979: 110; 1995, v.1:351):

ان الله تعالى أمر موسى وقومه إلى أريحا، وهي أرض بيت المقدس

God commanded Moses and his people to head to Jericho which is *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*

الباب الثالث عشر: في غزاة موسى أرض بيت المقدس قال علماء السير: أمر الله عز وجل موسى وقومه بالسير إلى أريحا. وهي أرض بيت المقدس

Section thirteen on the raid of Moses *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*. The Scholars of *Sīyar* said: that God commanded Moses and his people to head towards Jericho which is *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* (Ibn al-Jawzī 1979:110)

Therefore he includes Jericho as part of the land of Bayt al-Maqdis, as do many exegetists, some of whom are quoted by him (Ibn al-Jawzī 1979:67). In addition to this he quotes the narration from Muqātil where he includes Hebron, Lud, and others as part of *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* (Ibn al-Jawzī nd:72).

Al-Ḥamawī also followed suit and noted sites that are part of the whole area; he mentioned a location between Ramla and the city of Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.2:305):

حصن العنب: من نواحي فلسطين بالشام من أرض بيت المقدس

*Ḥisn al-ʿInab*: is in the area of Palestine in al-Sham in *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*

This site is known today as Abū Ghoush and is about thirteen kilometres North-West of the city of Bayt al-Maqdis. It is considered by al-Ḥamawī to be part of *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*.

He also mentions the whole area when talking about the extent of the wilderness and its adjacent areas (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.2:81):

...وحد بأرض بيت المقدس وما اتصل به من فلسطين...

...One of its sides extends to *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* and what is connected with it from Palestine...

In this citation *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* is mentioned to have frontiers with the wilderness. This probably referred to the area south of Beersheba, over a hundred kilometres from the city of Bayt al-Maqdis. A very similar citation was mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī though he just referred to Bayt al-Maqdis as a region. Al-Ḥamawī took this further and, to distinguish between Bayt al-Maqdis the city and its land, the region, he added in front of it the term *Arḍ*, so that it became *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*.

Al-Dhahabī (d. 748 AH/ 1348 CE) uses this term to refer to sites within this area; he states (al-Dhahabī nd:4368, 1439):

سمعت خالي الإمام موفق الدين يقول: لما قدمنا من أرض بيت المقدس ...

I heard my uncle the Imam Muwafaq al-Dīn saying: When we came from *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*....

محمد بن كرام ... ومات بأرض بيت المقدس سنة خمس وخمسين ومئتين

Muhammad Ibn Kīram ... he died in *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* in the year 255AH

In the first citation, the term *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* refers to the place of origin of Muwafaq al-Dīn who actually came from Jamaʿin which is forty kilometres North of the city of Bayt al-Maqdis. As for Muhammad Ibn Kīram, it is stated that he died in the land of Bayt al-Maqdis, which suggests that he did not die in the city, since otherwise just Bayt al-Maqdis would have been mentioned.



Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749 AH/ 1348CE) mentions this land as the site of the land of gathering and judgment; he states (Ibn al-Wardī nd: 125):

يظهرها الله سبحانه بأرض بيت المقدس

God almighty will make it appear in *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*

From the context he is talking of a large area, and is stating that it will appear in the land of Gathering and Judgment.

Ibn Rajab, as well as mentioning the name al-Quds, and the term *Arḍ al-Maqdis*, also used the terminology *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*. He uses it in many of his books, and again to refer to Jama'īl. He states again about Abū al-Faraj (Ibn Rajab 1997, v.3:58):

لما قدم الشيخ أبو الفرج إلى بلادهم من أرض بيت المقدس تسامح الناس به فزاروه من أقطار تلك البلاد

When the Shaikh Abū al-Faraj came to their land in *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*, people heard of him and came from all around those lands to see him

Here reference is not just to the village of Jama'īl but to a series of lands that are also part of *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*. He also makes a statement in another of his books: (Ibn Rajab 2001:244):

ساعير هي أرض بيت المقدس وما حوله

Sā'ir is *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* and what is around it

Here he is talking about a biblical verse: "The Lord came from Sinai and dawned over them from Seir; He shone forth from Mount Paran" (Deuteronomy 33:2). This tells of where the messages of God came from. Ibn Rajab considers Sā'ir to be the land of Bayt al-Maqdis and the area around it. There are many disagreements on where this site is, but it is clearly not the city.

Al-Maqrīzī (d.845 AH/ 1442 CE) gives another angle to this land, putting it in the wider framework of *Bilād al-Sham*. He states (al-Maqrīzī nd2: 968):

البلاد الشامية لها جانب شرقي وجانب غربي ووسط فجانبها الغربي هو أرض بيت المقدس وفلسطين إلى العريش أول حد مصر

*Bilād al-Sham* has an Eastern and a Western side and a centre. The Western side is *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* and Palestine to the 'Arish the start of the frontier of Egypt

He talks of the west of *Bilād al-Sham* as both *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* and Palestine, and he distinguishes between them; from the context it can be inferred that they can be equated even in size.

From the above citations it seems this term was introduced to overcome a problem in the multi-use of the name Bayt al-Maqdis. This has successfully been done, removing the vagueness around these terms.

## Using "Arḍ al-Maqdis"

This term was used by Ibn Ḥazm in the previous period to refer to a large area extending to covering much more than the city and its vicinity: an area that could be equated to the Holy Land. During this period many also used it to refer to a large area, such as Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571AH/ 1176CE) and Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī (d. 795 AH/ 1393). Ibn 'Asākir talks of a verse in the Qur'an which tells about a town that has been in ruins; he states (Ibn 'Asākir 1995, v.40:325):

القرية: أرض المقدس، وذلك أن العزيز مر بها وهي خراب

The town is: *Arḍ al-Maqdis*, since al-'Uzayr passed by it while it was in ruins.

He explains that this was after the destruction of Nabukhadh-Naṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar). Al-'Azīz asked, how will this town be revived after it has been destroyed! so God caused him to die for a hundred years, resurrecting him after the city had been restored. Here the story, according to most exegetists, refers to the city of Bayt al-Maqdis. He however refers to it as part of *Arḍ al-Maqdis*. Obviously it is part of *Arḍ al-Maqdis* which is a much greater area.

In the citation of Ibn Rajab he refers to a certain location that is relatively far from the city with the same terminology. This is in his book *Dhail Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, on the biographies of the followers of the *Ḥanbalī Madhhab*. He states while talking about a Jerusalemite 'Imad al-Dīn: Ibrahim Ibn 'Abd al-Wahid Ibn 'Alī Ibn Surūr al-Maqdisī (d. 688 AH/ 1289CE) (Ibn Rajab 1997, v.2:75):

وسمعت من شيخنا وإمامنا موفق الدين أبي محمد المقدسي يقول: عمري أعرفه- يعني الشيخ العماد- وكان بيتنا قريباً

من بيتهم- يعني في أرض المقدس

I have heard from our scholar and leader Muwafaq al-Dīn, Abī Muhammad al-Maqdisī that he said: I have always known him, meaning Shaikh al-'Imad, and our house was very close to their house, meaning in *Arḍ al-Maqdis*

Here reference is to the place where 'Imad al-Dīn and Muwafaq al-Dīn (d. 620 AH/1223) originally came from, namely, the land of al-Maqdis, *Arḍ al-Maqdis*. It is well known that both men and all their clan moved from a place called Jama'il, which is around forty kilometres away from the city of al-Quds, to Damascus in the year 551 AH, after the crusaders took over the region. Therefore Ibn Rajab considered the village of Jama'il to be part of *Arḍ al-Maqdis*. This is also reflected in the title at the end of their names "al-Maqdisī" which associates them with the region of al-Maqdis.

### Using 'Bilād al-Maqdis'

The term *Bilād al-Maqdis* –the counties of al-Maqdis– was used by many during this period. A few are mentioned here; Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 AH/ 1406 CE) used the term when referring to ancient history, when he noted the marriage between Antiochs (Anthony) and Cleopatra the daughter of Lugas (Ibn Khaldūn 1999, v.2:186):

زوجها له أبوها وأخذ سورية بلاد المقدس في مهرها

Her father married her to him and he took *Souriyat Bilād al-Maqdis* as her dowry

Here reference is made to Historical Syria (*Souriyah*) and *Bilād al-Maqdis*, which were taken as a dowry for the marriage.

Another of those who used this term was al-Qalqashandī (d.821 AH/ 1418 CE) when quoting Ibn al-Athir while talking about the *Jund* of Palestine: (al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.4:92):

وهو كورة كبيرة تشتمل على بلاد المقدس وغزة وعسقلان

And it is a large *Kumra* that includes *Bilād al-Maqdis*, Gaza and Ascalon

Here *Bilād al-Maqdis* is included as part of the *Jund* of Palestine. He goes on to mention only two other cities, Gaza and Ascalon, which from the context implies they were not part of *Bilād al-Maqdis* but of the *Jund* of Palestine. Which also implies that all other cities within the *Jund* of Palestine were part of *Bilād al-Maqdis*; these would include the cities of al-Quds, Hebron, Bethlehem, Nablus, Ramla and many others.

Many authors just mention the term, not specifying where within this area they are referring to. This was the case in the writings of Al-Maqrīzī (d.845 AH/ 1442 CE) and Al-Sakhawī (d. 902 AH/ 1497 CE). Al-Maqrīzī talks of the death of a person in this area (al-Maqrīzī nd:1238):

ومات علي بن أمير جرم، ببلاد المقدس، في وقعة بينه وبين محمد بن عبد القادر شيخ جبل نابلس

And 'Ali Ibn Amir Jarm, died in *Bilād al-Maqdis*, in an incident between him and Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Qadir the Shaikh of the Mount of Nablus

As for al-Shawkanī, while talking about the scholar Ali Ibn al-Hassan Sabkhat he states (al-Sakhawī nd:3024):

وهم من بيت سلطة ورئاسة، وكانوا من بلاد المقدس

And they are from a high class family and high position and they come from *Bilād al-Maqdis*

As can be seen, they both mention *Bilād al-Maqdis*, without saying exactly what they are referring to, though giving some clues. The first tells of an incident or a battle between them in *Bilād al-Maqdis* – if more of this were known it would explain exactly what he means. The same applies

to the second, if the place of origin of this man were to be found within the land of al-Maqdis.

### Using 'al-Bayt al-Muqadas'

As for the name *al-Bayt al-Muqadas*, it literally means the Holy House, referring to al-Aqsa Mosque. In this period there was a trend of using this name, in addition to referring to the mosque, to mean the city or sometimes even the region. Numerous scholars used it to refer to the city, as is apparent in many of the books of *Faḍā'il* (al-'Asālī 1984:86-91). It was also used by many scholars to refer to the region in their writings; a few examples are listed below. Al-Ḥamawī mentions this frequently, talking of major cities as part of *al-Bayt al-Muqadas* (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.2:185, v.2:245):

نابلس وأعمالها جميعاً من مضافات البيت المقدس

Nablus and all of its districts are all an addition to al-Bayt al-Muqadas

خبرون: ... اسم القرية التي فيها قبر إبراهيم الخليل عليه السلام بالبيت المقدس.

Hebron: ... is the name of the village which encompasses the grave of Abraham (PBUH) in al-Bayt al-Muqadas

He also talks of the Ghor as being between Damascus and al-Bayt al-Muqaddas: (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.4:246):

والغور غور الأردن بالشام بين البيت المقدس ودمشق وهو منخفض عن أرض دمشق وأرض البيت المقدس

*Al-Ghor*: the Ghor of Jordan is in al-Sham between *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* and Damascus; it is lower than the Land of Damascus and the Land of *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*

He also refers to many other sites and villages such as Khayran, Ramah, al-'Izariah, Yabroub and many others. Ibn al-Biṭār (d.646AH/ 1248CE) follows suit, mentioning many sites which are from Bayt al-Maqdis, the region. This becomes more apparent when he states: (Ibn al-Biṭār nd: 275, 314, 508)

In the *Bilād* of *al-Bayt al-Muqadas*

ببلاد البيت المقدس

In the Hamlets of al-Bayt al-Muqadas

ضياح البيت المقدس

In *Arḍ* al-Bayt al-Muqadas

بأرض البيت المقدس

These terms clearly refer to a large area called *al-Bayt al-Muqadas*, which obviously changes the previous usage of this term to include a wider understanding beyond the mosque or the city, which were also being used during that period.

## Conclusion

Probably the most additions to the names of Islamic Jerusalem were made during this period. In the previous period, before the time of the Crusaders, the most popular name was al-Quds. This continued to be the most popular name for the area and is still so in Arabic these days. The first addition to the name was introduced at the time of the Crusaders: this was the term *Sharif* (noble) to exalt the name and demonstrate its importance. After the Crusaders had left the region the name *al-Quds al-Sharif* was still being used, and it became common around the ninth Muslim century to attach this term to anything noble. This was especially the case at the time of the Ottomans who used the term very frequently. It had nearly always been used in one connotation to refer to the city, but hardly ever to refer to the region. It was, however, used by many such as al-'Umarī when referring to the region. The name al-Quds was also most popular in reference to the city and continued to be used sometimes to refer to the region. To distinguish it from the city, many have added terms such as *Balad*, *Bilād*, *Diyār* and *Arḍ*, as well as *'Amāl*, *A'māl*, *Wilāyat* and *Niyābah* for the administrative district. This shows two clear uses for the name: one for a general wider region and the other for an administrative one.

The popularity of the other names used during this period decreased with the domination of al-Quds and al-Quds al-Sharif. This led to the near extinction of the name Aelia which became very restricted and was hardly ever used. As for the name Bayt al-Maqdis, this was still being used especially in religious connotations since most of the Prophetic tradition used it. However, it moved into meaning just the city and many additions were attached to it such as *Arḍ* and *Bilād* when specifically wanting to refer to the region. In the course of time, the first part of the name "Bayt" was dropped, and when referring to the region it became *Arḍ al-Maqdis* instead of *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*, which was still in circulation.

There was a change of use for the name *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* from mainly the mosque and sometimes the city to the region. Many, however, used it together with additions such as *Arḍ* and *Bilād* to clarify their intended use of the name. From the sources that have been checked, it can be concluded that the most popular name for the city during this period became al-Quds, followed by al-Quds al-Sharif and finally by Bayt al-Maqdis. As for the region, additions to these names were more popular in this period since they helped to clarify the intended use of the name. This probably came about to overcome the many confusions from the multiple use of a single name with different connotations.

From the previous three periods, it can be seen that the names referring to Islamicjerusalem have gone through numerous changes, evolving over time as is shown in figure 5.1.

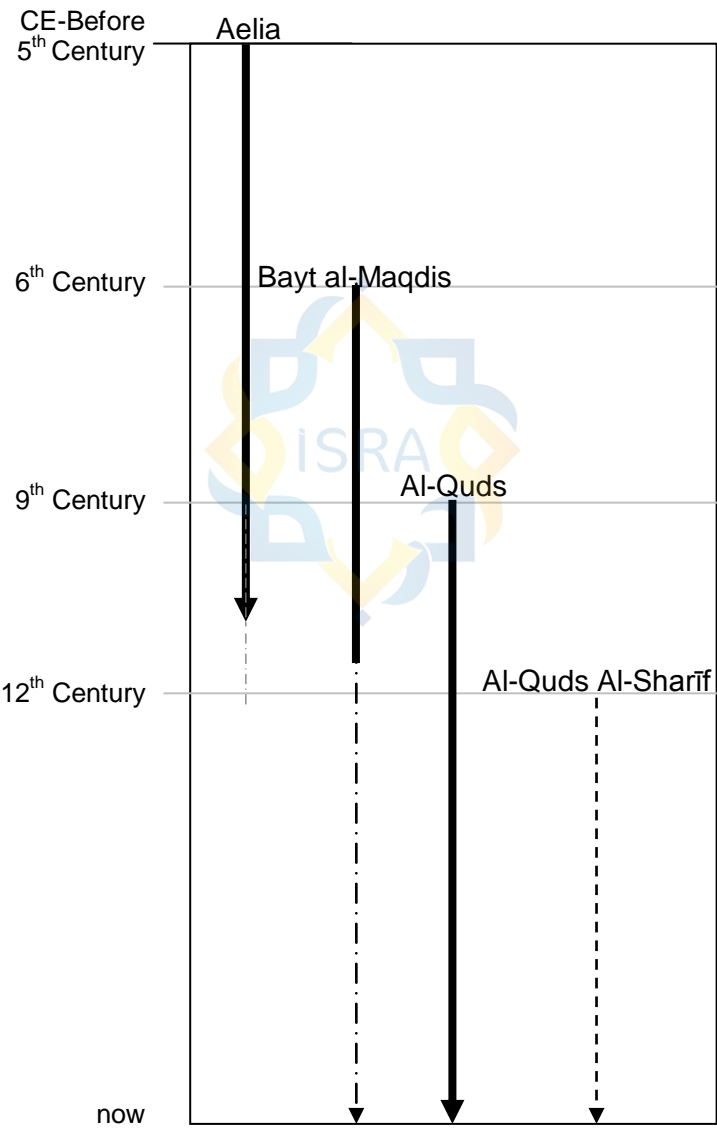


Figure 5.1: Development of the names of Islamicjerusalem in Arabic from the early Muslim period until the present day

The figure above shows the most popular and not the rarer uses of the names. These in addition had multiple uses for the names of which many included the region. This survey of Muslim Arabic literature is taken into the next chapters where the extent of the boundaries is examined in detail. So far the existence of a region for Islamicjerusalem throughout these periods has been strengthened.







PART THREE:  
THE GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES  
OF ISLAMIC JERUSALEM





## THE EXTENT OF THE REGION

This References to a region of IslamicJerusalem have been very apparent in Muslim literature but examinations of the boundaries of this region have been scarce; very little has been written on this topic so far.<sup>1</sup> Muslim scholars have left a considerable number of questions unanswered. This chapter hopes to answer many of those questions and portray a more precise delineation of the boundaries of this region.

Accounts in Muslim literature often refer to IslamicJerusalem as a large region. Some scholars for example refer to the region explicitly by providing the extent of its boundaries, for instance al-Maqdisī. Others refer to the region implicitly by referring to certain sites within it such as al-Ḥamawī. Both direct<sup>2</sup> and general<sup>3</sup> accounts will now be placed in chronological order to correspond to the development of the name of the city and the region, and in order to view any changes in different eras to the region.

The names of the region were found in more than twenty forms:

- |                              |                                      |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <b>Aelia</b>              | 10. <i>A'māl al-Quds</i>             |
| 2. <b>Bayt al-Maqdis</b>     | 11. <i>'Amal al-Quds</i>             |
| 3. <i>Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis</i> | 12. <i>Niyābat al-Quds</i>           |
| 4. <i>Arḍ al-Maqdis</i>      | 13. <i>Diyār al-Quds</i>             |
| 5. <b>al-Quds</b>            | 14. <b>Al-Quds al-Sharīf</b>         |
| 6. <i>Bilād al-Quds</i>      | 15. <i>'Amal al-Quds al-Sharīf</i>   |
| 7. <i>Wilāyat al-Quds</i>    | 16. <i>Wilāyat al-Quds al-Sharīf</i> |
| 8. <i>Arḍ al-Quds</i>        | 17. <i>Bilād al-Quds al-Sharīf</i>   |
| 9. <i>Navabī al-Quds</i>     | 18. <i>Niyābat al-Quds al-Sharīf</i> |

<sup>1</sup> Only a chapter within al-Tel's book and the author's work dealing solely on this subject have been published.

<sup>2</sup> Direct accounts refer to accounts that focus on the region and give its extents.

<sup>3</sup> General accounts refer to accounts that just locate one aspect of the region in passing rather than giving a direct account.

- |                                       |                                     |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 19. <i>Mamlakat al-Quds al-Sharif</i> | 21. <i>Arḍ al-Bayt al-Muqadas</i>   |
| 20. <b>Al-Bayt al-Muqadas</b>         | 22. <i>Bilad al-Bayt al-Muqadas</i> |

All these forms referred explicitly to a region, though not all to the same extent. Some actually referred to the administrative limits which are discussed in the next chapter. They were the ones with the terms *Wilāyat* (7, 16), *A'māl* (10), *'Amal* (11, 15), *Nijābat* (12, 19), and *Mamlakat* (17) attached to them, in addition to the name Aelia in some cases. These actually were not set, they changed frequently with different reigns and sometimes within the same reigns. The remaining terms refer to a region that seems to be unchanged and unaffected by the changing political power. Thus this issue will be tackled to see if both boundaries are the same or different.

The main framework is set out in this chapter and the next by discussing the explicit accounts on the extents and limits of this land. There are three main accounts of the extent of the region, plus some accounts regarding the southern boundaries. The following chapter will look into further narrations that specify certain sites and locations, thus referring to a region but not to its full extent. This will then be followed by a further chapter looking into the administrative political boundaries that the region had throughout different eras, from the pre-Muslim conquest in the seventh century through to the Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimids, Crusaders, Ayyūbids, Mamlūks and Ottomans.

### Direct references

The first explicit account to give the limits of this land was that of al-Maqdisī who lived in the fourth Muslim century. This was not however the first time a reference to this region was made; there are many accounts from the first Muslim century that refer to a large region. A number of these accounts were discussed in chapter four and others are discussed in detail in the next chapter. These talked of sites such as Jericho, Hebron, Lud, Bethlehem, Nablus and many others well before al-Maqdisī. In addition to these accounts which named certain locations as being part of the region or discussed it vaguely without giving the extent of the land, there are a few accounts which do precisely that; they provide the limits and the extent of these boundaries.

#### Al-Maqdisī (d.390 AH/ 1000 CE)

Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Abū Bakr al-Bana' al-Shamī al-Maqdisī also known as al-Bisharī was born in the year 334 AH/ 945 CE somewhere in this region where he was also brought up; according to some, this was specifically in Ramla (Ziyadah 1987: 53).

He lived for about fifty years in which he travelled around the Muslim world and, based on his travels, he wrote his renowned book *The Best Divisions for knowledge of the regions* (*Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rīfat al-Aqālim*). It is believed by many that al-Maqdisī was one of the greatest geographers ever; for example, Krachkovski (1963: 208-9) believes his book to be one of the best written on Muslim geography, as it is both unique and very informative.

Al-Maqdisī's writing on this topic in particular and on the areas of Palestine and al-Sham in general has many advantages over that of other geographers and writers from later periods. One is his having this region as his ancestral home, thus being more acquainted with it. The second is being relatively close to the era of the first Muslim conquest. These advantages put al-Maqdisī in a position ahead of other geographers who came to the region before or after him. He knew the area and was much better acquainted with it than any visiting scholar. This is probably why he was the one who presented the most comprehensive account concerning the extent of the boundaries of the region of Islamic Jerusalem. Al-Maqdisī's account is unique because no other scholar has given such a detailed description of the boundaries.

### *The Account*

In his renowned book, he starts a section on Bayt al-Maqdis by giving a very detailed description of the Walled City and its surroundings; he then expands into discussing the whole region (al-Maqdisī 1906: 173):

وحدُّ القدس ما حول إيليا إلى أربعين ميلاً يدخل في ذلك القصبة ومدنها وإثنا عشر ميلاً في البحر وضُرّة ومآب وخمسة أميال من [في] البادية ومن قبل القبلة إلى ما وراء الكُسَيْفَة [المُسَيْفَة] وما يحاذيها ومن قبل الشمال تخوم نابلس وهذه الأرض مباركة كما قال الله تعالى مشجرة الجبال زريعة السهول من غير سقي ولا أنهار وكما قال الرجلان لموسى ابن عمران وجدنا بلداً يفيض لبناً وعسلاً.

The limits of *al-Quds* extend to cover the area around *Aelia* up to forty *mil* (miles). This includes *al-Qaṣabah* and its towns and twelve *mil* (miles) into *al-Baḥr*, plus *Ṣughar*, *Ma'ab* and five *mil* (miles) into *al-Baḥyah*. In the direction of *Qiblah* it extends to beyond *al-Kusayfa* and the land around it. In the Northern direction it reaches the *Tukhum* (limits) of Nabulus. This Land is *Mubarakah* as Allah –may He be exalted– Has stated; its mountains are covered with trees, and its plains are cultivated without the need for irrigation nor water from the rivers. And as the two men have told Moses the son of 'Imran: we found a land overflowing with milk and honey.

The statement of al-Maqdisī can be divided into several parts. The first is relatively short; in it he gives the name of the region and the central point of reference. In the second he gives dimensions of the extent of this land. In the third he gives a detailed description of the area covered,

naming certain sites and locations. And in the fourth he gives a topographical description of the land.

### *The Name Used*

The name al-Maqdisī uses here to refer to this region is *al-Quds*, and for the city he uses Aelia. These two names were among others that he used for the whole area, as discussed in chapter five. Thus he calls the whole area under discussion al-Quds: this name was the most popular name of the time for the city which is probably why it was used by al-Maqdisī, who also used it to refer to the city in numerous citations in his book. (see chapter 4) However in this case he used the name al-Quds to refer to the region, a reference that was not in popular use at this time (chapter 4). He used al-Quds on its own without any of the additions such as Ard (land) which were being used by some.

### *Dimension of the extent*

In the beginning of the account al-Maqdisī gives a numerical dimension to the extent of this region. He states that it is "up to forty miles". However, this raises many questions, some of which are: Is this mile the same as the current mile? Is this forty miles a radius or a diameter? And it is a circular shape?

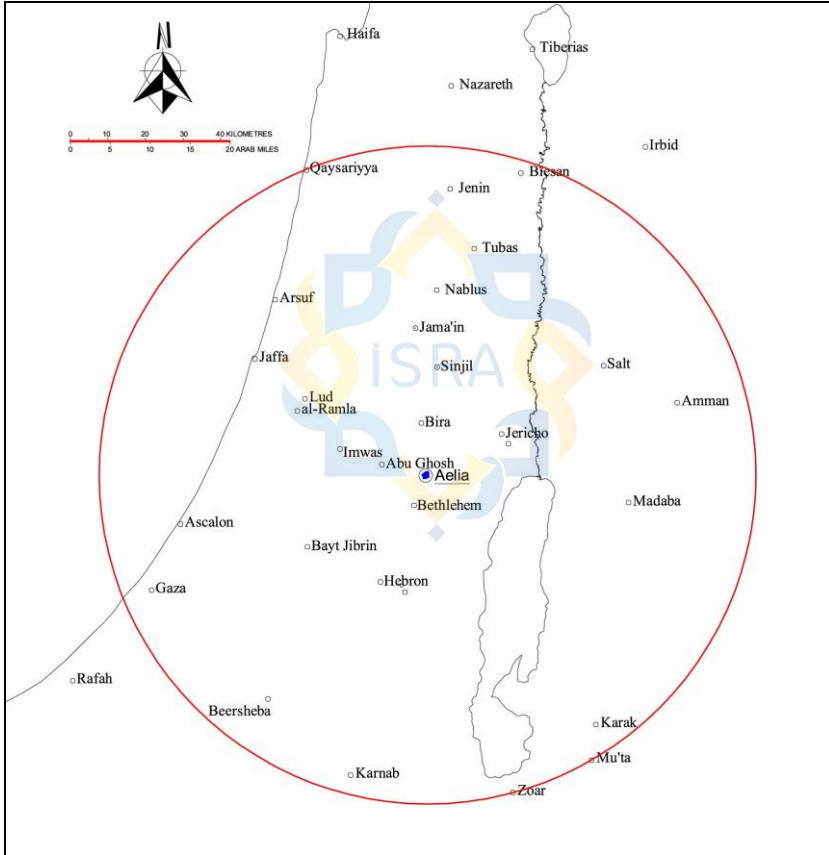
As for the mile, this can be easily mistaken for the current standard mile (al-Tel 2003: 52-61), which would cause much confusion and contradiction especially between the dimension and the description. However, as is the case with other nations, Arabs had their own dimension for a mile (*mil*). There is no exact equivalent of what the Arab mile was, since there are numerous estimations of the equivalent in our international standards (Appendix 2). This could be due to the fact that different scholars had their own measurements in different times. However, the measurements presented by al-Maqdisī and the equivalent of his mile are the main point. From other measurements given by al-Maqdisī and their known equivalents, the author (as shown in Appendix II) has calculated the equivalent of the mile used by al-Maqdisī as **2126** metres. Thus the forty miles would in actual fact refer to **85.04** km.<sup>4</sup>

As for the question is the forty miles a radius or a diameter, at first it might mean the diameter, thus only a twenty-mile radius. However, if the text is read carefully the words are very precise. They say that it is forty miles around Aelia, thus the centre is the city of Aelia and it

<sup>4</sup> For the rest of the discussion, unless explicitly mentioned, the Arab *Mil* will be referred to as miles according to the dimensions of al-Maqdisī.

extends from it to forty miles. Consequently the radius would be forty miles and the diameter eighty miles. This is confirmed by the following section where the named sites fall within the forty-mile radius well beyond twenty miles.

Thus, plotting this dimension on a map of the area with the walled city as the centre, the following map is produced:



Map 6.1: Maximum extent of al-Maqdisi's boundaries with Aelia as centre

This in modern terms refers to much of the land controlled by the state of Israel, including most of the West Bank and parts of the Gaza Strip, as well as part of the kingdom of Jordan.

From the wording used by al-Maqdisi it seems at first that he is talking about a circle; however, on reading through the first sentence carefully again, this understanding is changed. Al-Maqdisi used the word "*ila*" in Arabic which means "up to", meaning that the maximum would be forty

miles, but it could be much less. The radius therefore would fluctuate in the different directions. Thus it no longer refers to a full uniform circle and, consequently, could mean an irregular circle, an oval or an irregular shape. Moreover, the map above demonstrates the maximum coverage in any direction, and the following section will show the extent in some directions.

From the description given and from maps of the area, distances to locations were calculated by drawing straight lines between them "as the crow flies". Classical geographers used a similar technique in measuring long distances they tied measuring ropes in straight lines from one mountain-top to another (Dhāish nd:104; al-Farngry 2003) and also used the positioning of longitudes and latitudes. Since both techniques are quite similar, the error margin will be minimal.

### *Named sites*

In the third part of al-Maḡdisī's account, he gives a detailed description of the areas covered. He starts off with the name Aelia as the centre; the name Aelia which had nearly died out during this period was the previous name used for the city and the region, as discussed in chapter four. It was used by al-Maḡdisī in numerous places to refer to both, through in this case it is clear that reference is to Aelia the city.

The second name mentioned is *al-Qaṣabah* and its towns. Within this region there is no place named *al-Qaṣabah*, but *al-Qaṣabah* means "the capital". Al-Maḡdisī is cited in numerous places as referring to the capital of the province of Palestine Ramla as *al-Qaṣabah* (al-Maḡdisī 1906: 154, 164, 176) which is clearly what is being referred to here. As well as Ramla he also mentions its towns as being part of this region. These are not specified but, there are a few towns close by to which this would refer, such as Lud a couple of kilometres away, and also Yāfā (Jaffā) which he clearly associates with Ramla – he states that "it is the port of Ramla" (al-Maḡdisī 1906: 174) – and possibly a few other towns and villages round about it. Thus he is including all the city district of Ramla as being part of the region from this direction.

The next name al-Maḡdisī mentions is *al-Baḥr*, the Sea. On the map of the area there are only two seas, the Mediterranean Sea to the west and the Dead Sea to the east. However, the latter was not at that time known as a sea, being considered merely a lake. Actually, al-Maḡdisī referred to it as *al-Buḥayrah al-Maqlūbah* "the Upturned Lake" (al-Maḡdisī 1906: 178, 184) or *Buḥayrat Ṣuḡhar* (1906: 173, 185); sometimes it is also known as *al-Buḥayrah al-Muntinah* "the Stinking Lake". In addition al-Maḡdisī mentions that twelve miles of this sea is part of the region; however, the width of the Dead Sea is barely six Arab miles in width,



thus the it can be eliminated which leaves the first option. The Mediterranean Sea is the only Sea to lie within or even close to this area. Also, al-Maqdisī in the previous sentence was talking of Ramla, and in another citation in his book he states that Ramla is close to the sea (al-Maqdisī 1906: 164). He also refers to Jaffa as the port of Ramla. Thus it makes more sense that he was referring to the Mediterranean Sea. And whenever he mentions the word *al-Baḥr* 'the Sea' in the context of al-Sham, he means the Mediterranean Sea (al-Maqdisī 1906: 152, 162, 163, 164, 174) or, as he sometimes calls it, "the Roman Sea". Therefore twelve miles of this sea, the Mediterranean Sea, is also part of the region.<sup>5</sup>

The following name mentioned was *Ṣughar* (Zoar). This is spelt differently in the two versions of his manuscript, once with a *Ṣad* and once with a *Zai* (Zogar). The location of this site is disputed amongst geographers; some claim it to be at the northern side of the Dead Sea in a place known as Tall al-Shagur, while others argue that it is in the southern bank of the Dead Sea near *Ghor al-Ṣafī* (Le Strange 1970:239-44). Having visited both sites the author considers that the latter on the southern side better resembles the description of al-Maqdisī, as he states that it is very hot, its inhabitants are black and it is close to the mountains (1906: 187) – all of which points match this site fully and not the one on the northern side. It is also located by al-Maqdisī as the capital of *Jund al-Sharāḥ*, which does not include the northern end of the Dead Sea (al-Maqdisī 1906: 155). It can be concluded that Zoar is located near *Ghor al-Ṣafī* on the southern shores of the Dead Sea. Its biblical name is Bela (MacDonald 2002: 209, 212).

The other town he mentions is Ma'āb which is not very far from Zoar; in fact it is also part of the province of al-Sharāḥ (al-Maqdisī 1906: 155). Al-Maqdisī also stated in his book that this town Ma'āb is situated in the mountains. However, it is also close to the desert with many villages belonging to it, one being the village of Mu'ta (al-Maqdisī 1906: 178). Under Roman/Byzantine rule Ma'āb used to be known as Rabbath Moba (MacDonald 2002: 211) and is known today as *al-Rabbah*, 17.5 km north of al-Karak (Ibn Shaddād 1962:83; Al-Dabbāgh 1988, v.8(2):8). Not only did al-Maqdisī include Ma'āb but he takes it a further five miles into the desert after this town.<sup>6</sup>

He then goes on to talk of the area beyond al-Kuseifa and states that it is in the direction of the *Qiblah* (direction to Makkah), meaning towards

<sup>5</sup> Why this region extends into the Sea? This needs further investigation.

<sup>6</sup> The author visited this site in summer 2004; a few miles east of this town, the desert begins.

the south. Al-Kuseifa has preserved its name from the Muslim conquest until the present time. It lies thirty kilometres east of Beersheba. There are, however, two sites right next to each other –just over a kilometre away– named Kuseifa; one is the current village and the other is the *Khirbah*, a ruined site. However al-Maqdisī was not interested in the site but the area beyond it, thus it could be either – but most likely it is the ruined site as this is much older. So why did he not name a specific site? The answer is that this is the start of the desert and there are no known sites beyond Kuseifa within the forty mile radius. Al-Maqdisī moreover does not specify how far beyond al-Kuseifa the boundaries extended; he just states that the boundaries in this direction extend to cover the area beyond the site named in addition to the area adjacent to it.

From the south he moves directly on to the north and extends the borders to the *Tukhum* of Nablus. *Tukhum* is the plural for *Takhm*, which means border or boundary, thus reference is to the boundaries and borders of Nablus. Al-Maqdisī does not specify clearly any city or village which the boundaries reach. This poses a dilemma as to whether he meant the inner border with Nablus, i.e. south of Nablus, or the northern borders, i.e. including the city of Nablus itself. However, linguistically, Ibn Manẓūr explains that *Takhm* is the edge or end of every town or land (1999, v.2: 21), and thus it most likely refers to the northern limit of Nablus. It is still unknown how far beyond the city of Nablus this would extend; al-Maqdisī makes no mention of the extent of Nablus.

### *Features and Topography*

Al-Maqdisī ends his account of the boundaries of al-Quds by commenting briefly on some of the features of this region. He says: "This land is Mubārak (blessed) as Allah –may He be exalted– Has stated," meaning that everything within those boundaries is blessed; however this does not limit the Barakah to this region only. If he had said: "this is al-Ard al-Mubārakah", he would have meant only this specific region. Therefore the Land of Barakah extends far beyond those boundaries; this area is only apart of it. He also refers to the source of Barakah being God. Not only that, but he is making a reference to the Qur'anic verses on the Barakah of this land and most likely the verse on the Barakah radiating around al-Aqsa (Qur'an 17:1).

He then briefly discusses its topography and refers to the mountainous area and the plains which are well cultivated. This fits the description perfectly as this area can be divided into the chain of mountains in the middle and low plains on both sides, as is shown in the figure below.

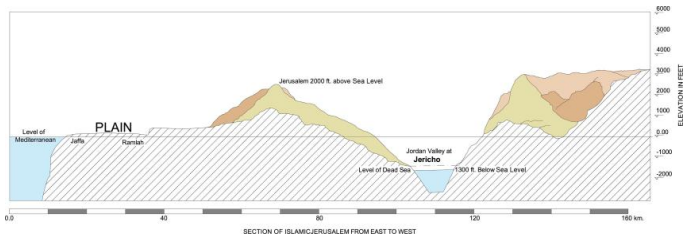
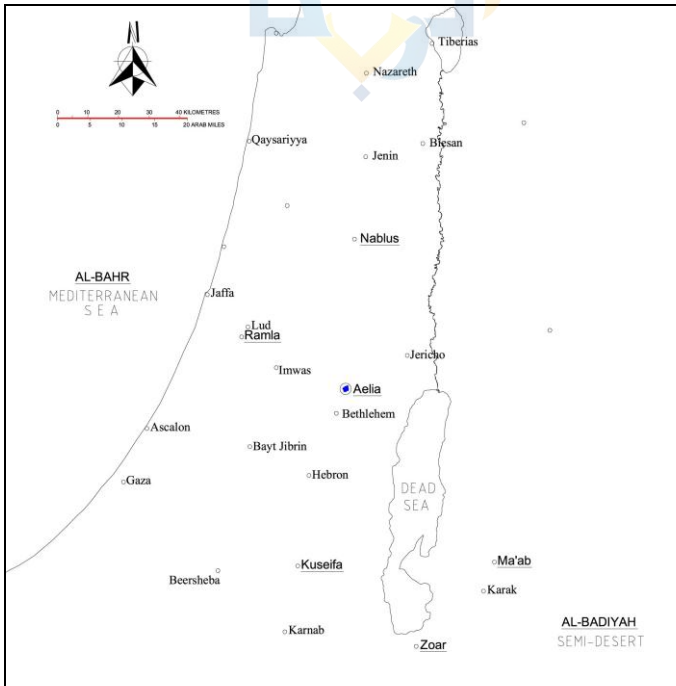


Figure 6.1: Cross-section of the region East to West

The last comment concerns the blessings on this land; he notes the discussion between Prophet Moses and the two Israelites who were sent on an expedition to it. On their return they informed Prophet Moses that it was overflowing with goodness. This is making an implicit reference to the Holy Land.

### *Mapping Sites on Map*

From the descriptive information given by al-Maḡdisī in his account, the named sites were plotted on a map as shown below: the walled city Aelia at the centre, Ramla and the sea to the west, Zoar, Ma'āb and the desert to the south-east, Kuseifa to the south and finally Nablus to the north.



Map 6.2: Al-Maḡdisī's named locations (underlined)

Lines were then taken from the centre, Aelia, and extended to the five areas al-Maqdisī described. Ramla is straightforward: it is 38km (approximately<sup>7</sup> 18 Arab miles) from the walled city. As for the extent into the sea, this is slightly more complicated. Ramla is over 15km (~7 miles) away from the sea; however, the question is where to start taking the measurement for the sea. The simplest and in fact the only solution is from the shore. However, is that the shore at Jaffa (18.5km) or the area parallel to Ramla (15.8km) or is it the same line continued from Aelia to Ramla (15 km)? Since the latter is the shortest to the seashore this will be the choice (from Aelia 53.56 km = ~25.2 miles), and the line will run for another 12 miles = ~25.5km into the sea. Thus from Aelia this would be a total of 79.06 km which is about 37.18 Arab miles.

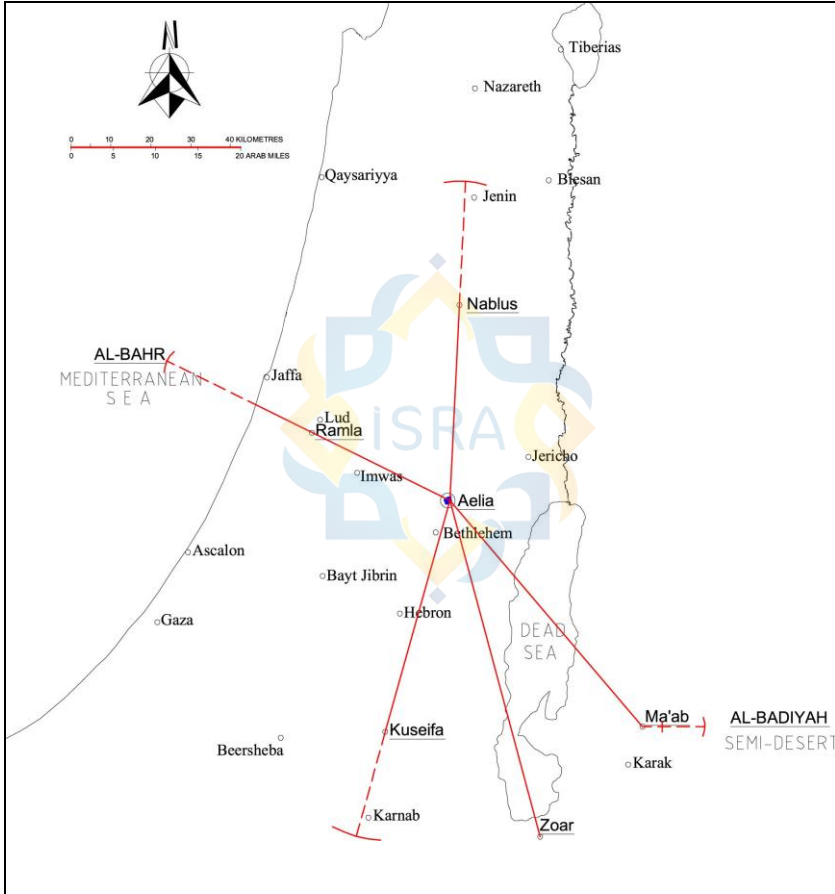
Moving to the other side, Zoar in the lower basin of the Dead Sea is found to be 84km (~39.51 miles) from Aelia, and to the north-east of it lies Ma'āb at 71km (~33.40 miles) from Aelia. It does not stop at Ma'āb but runs a further 5 miles = 10.63km into the desert. However, the desert, as mentioned earlier, does not start directly after Ma'āb –which is in the mountains– but 5km east of it. To the south the mountains continue and only to the eastern side do they become desert within a 10km radius. Thus the five miles into the desert are taken after 5km east of Ma'āb, which gives a total distance from the centre of 84 km (~39.5 miles).

To the south Kuseifa is at 61 km (~28.69 mile); what is not too clear is how much after Kuseifa the boundaries extend. Al-Maqdisī states that in this direction the boundary extends to beyond Kuseifa and the area around it. It is very clear that his target in this direction is not Kuseifa, but the area beyond it since he explicitly states this, and as there are no other sites beyond Kuseifa the frontier of the boundary would just extend into the desert. Thus in this direction it is extended to the area just beyond Kuseifa, possibly around 30 miles.

As to the north, Nablus is at 48.7 km (~22.91 miles), however, as was the case with Kuseifa, it is the northern extent that is of interest. Al-Maqdisī makes no clear reference to reach of this extend; however, it can be certain that the boundary would not include cities or towns from the Jund (province) of Jordan, such as Beisan, al-Lajoun as they would surely not be part of Nablus. Thus in this direction the boundaries would extend to the borderline with Jund of Jordan at around 81.35km (~38.26 miles).

<sup>7</sup> As the equivalent in Arab miles is an approximation, this (~) sign will be used to symbolise this

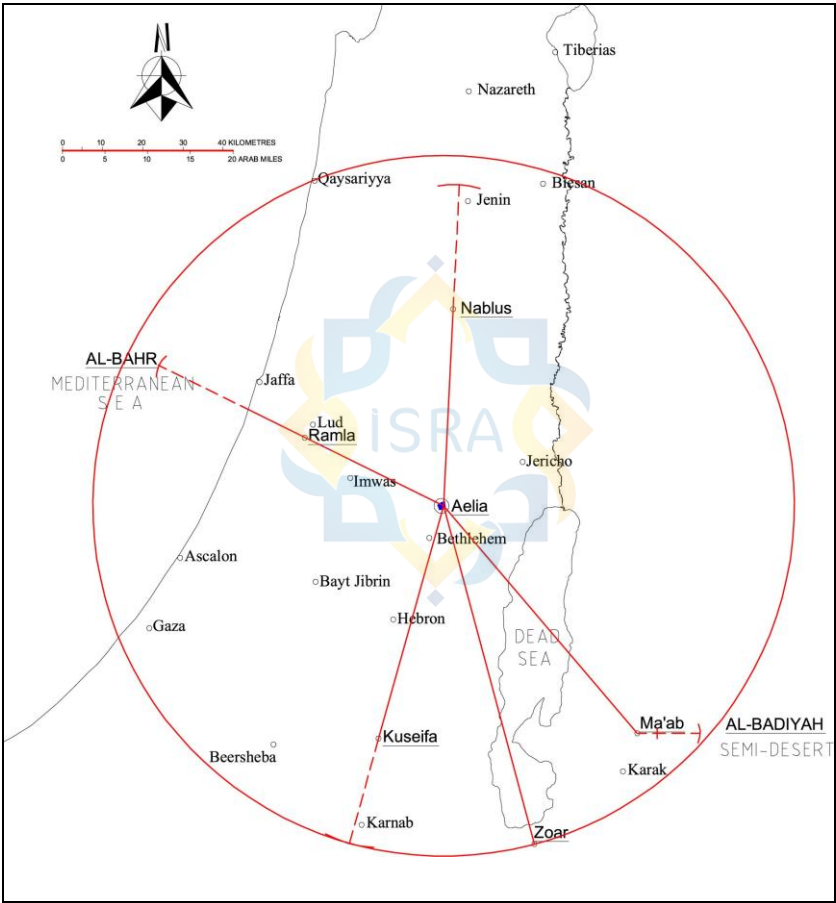
Thus lines to the named sites were plotted on the map as can be seen in Map 6.3 below. Continuous lines show the extent of the boundaries in these directions and the dotted lines illustrate the possible extent to which the limits could reach in the unspecified limits.



Map 6.3: Lines to the named locations and the possible extent of others

By comparing both maps, from the dimensions and the descriptions it will be seen if there are any contradictions or if both dimension and description match. Thus maps 6.1 and 6.3 were combined to create map 6.4 below. The map shows that both the description and the dimension given by al-Maqdisi match precisely, as do all the named sites which fall within the maximum extent of the boundaries presented by al-Maqdisi. As can be seen, three of the named locations and two of the estimations lie very close to the maximum extent of the circle, the closest being Zoar

at just under one kilometre (0.641km), followed by the maximum extent into the desert at around a kilometre (0.938km) and finally the sea at just under six kilometre. The other named sites refer to sites beyond them; thus they are only an intermediary and the target is beyond these sites.



Map 6.4: combination of maps 1 & 3: synthesis of boundaries according to analysis of al-Maqdisi's description and dimension

This account gives a very close approximation of what lies within the region; however, in some directions it is not very clear to where the boundaries extend. As is seen, the locations named are either to the north and north-west or the south and south-east. This shows a clear gap in the eastern and north-eastern direction as well as the south-western direction. These directions include well-known sites which still also fall within this forty-mile radius such as Beersheba, Gaza, Ascalon,

Caesarea, Beisan and Amman, but are not named by al-Maqdisi; are these part of the region or not? Some other accounts may clarify a few of these sites, and these are discussed in chapter eight. The named sites and the areas between them to the centre are taken as the framework for the moment until the others have been established.

What is intriguing about al-Maqdisi's account is that he is not following the divisions of these areas; rather he is overriding them and including parts from different administrative divisions. He talks of the capital of the province of Palestine, Ramla, but he does not include the whole province of Palestine in the region of al-Quds. Rather he adds parts from another province, al-Sharah, and not the whole of it. Thus he is clearly not following any administrative or provincial division, rather he is talking of yet another division.

### Al-Tifāshī (d.651 AH/ 1251 CE)

Another person to give dimensions to the extent of this land was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf al-Tifāshī. Al-Tifāshī was an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary scholar and wrote a massive encyclopaedia on literature and different sciences that consisted of around twenty-four volumes. This was abbreviated by Ibn Manẓūr (d.711 AH) into ten volumes under the title "*Surūr al-Nafs bi-Madārik al-Ḥawās al-Khams*". However most of this encyclopaedia, and even its abbreviated versions, have been lost with time. Nonetheless, some have been found and published, one for example edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās who published a single volume of this work which unfortunately however does not include the account of the boundaries. Moreover, much of al-Tifāshī's works, such as *his* account of the boundaries, have only reached us through scholars who quoted him in their own works which have survived. The following passage was quoted by Ibn Faḍlullāh al-'Umarī (d.749 AH/1348 CE) in his encyclopaedia *Masālik al-Amṣār* (1986: 123):

ذكرت الرواة أنّ هذه الأرض التي بارك الله فيها وحولها أربعون ميلاً طولاً في أربعين ميلاً عرضاً في تدوير البيت المقدس، والبيت المقدس في وسطها. وكان اسمها في الزمن الأول إيلياء، وقول الله تعالى يُحَقِّقْ أَنَّ بَيْتَ الْمُقَدَّسِ فِي وَسْطِ تَرْبِيعِ الْأَرْضِ الْمُقَدَّسَةِ الَّتِي بَارَكَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى فِيهَا.

The narrators have said that *this land* is which Allah has placed *Barakah* in as well as around. It is forty miles in length, by forty miles in breadth, in a circle around *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* (Holy House), with *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* in its centre. Its name in the first era was Aelia, The saying of Allah – May He be Exalted– confirms that Bayt al-Maqdis (the city) lies in the centre of the Holy Land which Allah has blessed.



Al-Tifāshī uses a variety of terms within his text and refers to many sites. He starts by referring to *this land* in the implicit pronoun, without specifying which land he is referring to, then explains that it is the land which God blessed in and around (*Bārak fihā wa ḥamlahā*); he also refers to *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, Aelia, Bayt al-Maqdis and finally *al-Ard al-Muqaddasah*.

From the first words in the passage, it is not clear what exactly is being referred to and, since the full text is not available to see what was written prior to this statement, it is very difficult to decide. The quotation is taken out of a context as it is clear that the quotation is referring back to something mentioned previously. Nonetheless, al-'Umarī seems to have placed this quotation in a similar context; he situates it at the start of a section about *al-Quds*. So it must be assumed that al-Tifāshī was also talking about *al-Quds* until there is evidence on the contrary. But there are many clues in the quotation that support the argument that he is talking about al-Quds. This can be clearly deduced from his statement that its previous name was Aelia and during the time of al-Tifāshī both *al-Quds* and *al-Quds al-Sharif* had superseded the name Aelia; thus al-Quds is surely being referred to here (see chapter five).

He talks of Barakah in and around al-Quds and distinguishes between these two entities. He discusses the land, al-Quds, as being the land that possesses the Barakah and then goes on to say not only has it got Barakah but so have the areas around it. In the last sentence he stresses this distinction and states that *al-Ard al-Muqadasah*, Holy Land, is the land that the Barakah is placed within, thus equating this land, al-Quds, in the opening sentence with *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* in the closing sentence.

He talks of the dimensions of this land as being forty miles in length by forty miles in breadth. The first thing that comes to mind from this description is a quadrangle and, since both sides are equal, then it would be a square that is forty miles on every side (Figure 6.2). However, the question arises as to why he gave two dimensions; had it been a square or a circle he would have only needed one dimension. However it could probably be because he wished to stress that it is a square and nothing else.

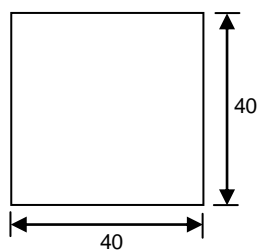


Figure 6.2: 40 Miles square

Moreover the following words change the proposition; he states that this forty by forty miles is to circle around *al-Bayt al-Muqadas*. Here *al-Bayt al-Muqadas*, literally the Holy House, most likely referred to al-Aqsa



Mosque as it is being stated with *al*, the definite article. During this period however *al-Bayt al-Muqadas* was also used to refer to the city and not the Mosque as was used by al-Ḥamawī (see chapter five); from the context, though, the mosque is a strong possibility in this case. He adds that *al-Bayt al-Muqadas* is in its centre, thus he takes al-Aqsa Mosque as the pivot point and the forty by forty miles as extending from it in all directions. But if this is so for every direction, it will not be a perfect larger square as in figure 6.3, it will be a perfect circle with an inner circle of a 40-mile radius and an outer radius of 56.57 miles as in Figure 6.4, thus increasing the radius of the circle by 16 miles on top of the forty!

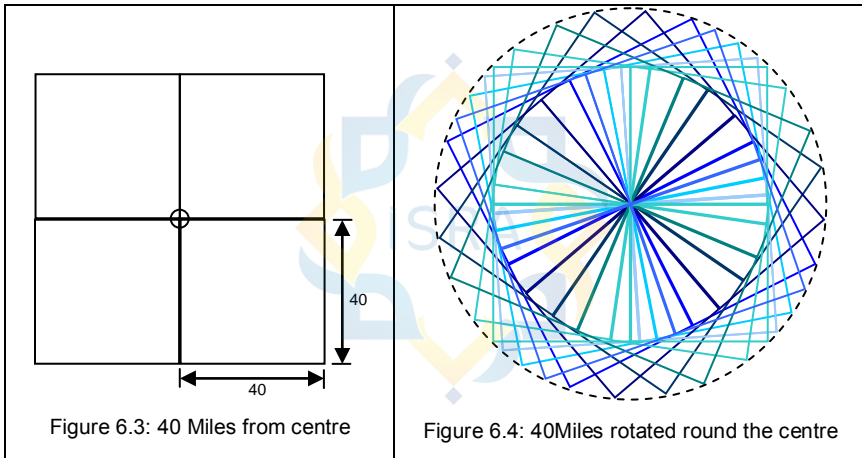


Figure 6.3: 40 Miles from centre

Figure 6.4: 40Miles rotated round the centre

Conversely another understanding would be: if the forty miles by forty miles is taken as a square and the centre is taken to be in the middle of this square, this would produce something as in Figure 6.5, with a length and breadth from the centre of twenty miles. However, in such case we would be omitting the circling motion around al-Aqsa.

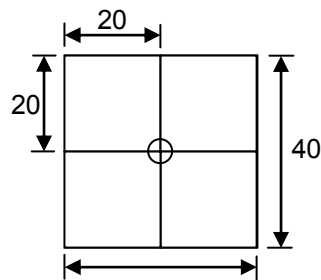
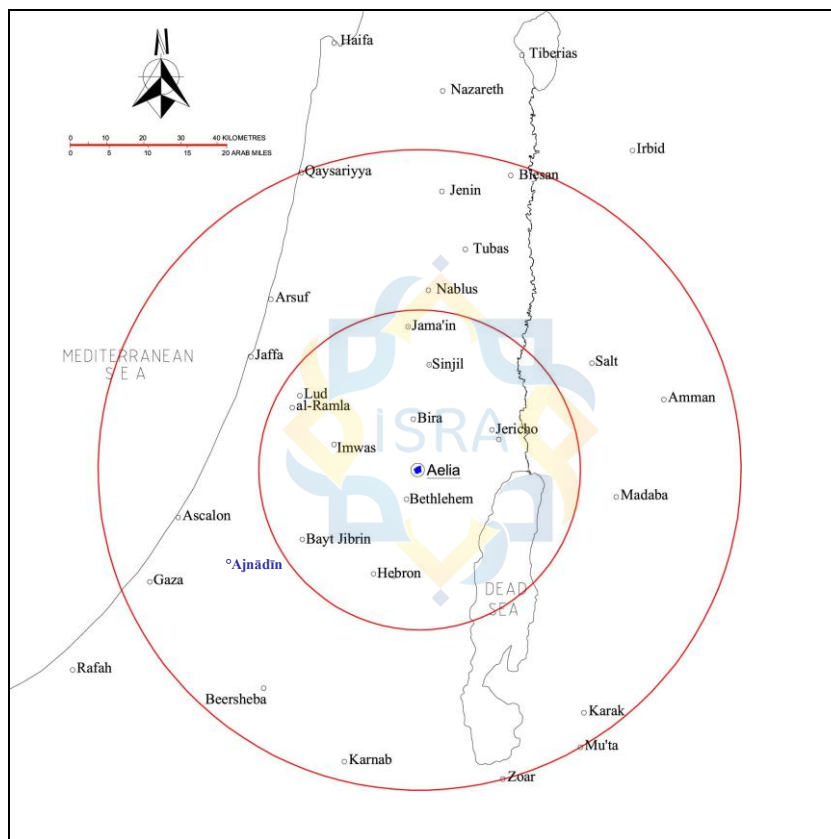


Figure 6.5: 40Miles square

Linguistically, whether this refers to the first or the second option or whether it is a radius or a diameter is not certain and, therefore, both can be assumed. However, as has been mentioned, he states that this area was known in the past as Aelia, thus equating the boundaries of the region of *al-Quds* to those of Aelia. Aelia, according to Muslim sources, was a large region that extended from Caesarea to Ajnādīn at the time of the Muslim Conquest (see chapter eight). This in turn would be greater

than the twenty-mile radius (inner circle). Moreover, Caesarea (Qaysariyya) lies very close to the outer circle as is clear from the map below. Therefore, this would correspond to the outer circle with the forty-mile radius.



Map 6.5: Possible extent of the boundaries of Islamic Jerusalem by al-Tifāshī, Inner circle at 20 – Arab– miles radius; Outer circle at 40 – Arab– miles

In short, it can be understood from al-Tifāshī's statement that *al-Quds* is limited to forty miles in width and forty in breadth in a circle, with al-Aqsa Mosque at its centre.

This, in turn, would be very similar to the dimensions of al-Maqdisī, who also gives a forty-mile radius for his measurements though not in every direction. This could also apply to al-Tifāshī's account, since Muslim sources did not include sites in parts of *Palestina Secunda* or *Tertia* as being within the region of Aelia, which means that it may not

have extended to the maximum in every direction. This could be possible, since there might have been a continuation of the quotation or a further explanation that is no longer available.

An important point he makes right from the outset is that he is basing this account on narrators, if those narrators are known then this can help detail the source of his account. It also makes it clear that he is basing this account on a reliable source.

### Al-ʿUmarī (d.749 AH/1349 CE)

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥya Ibn Faḍlullah Al-ʿUmarī was also an encyclopaedic scholar and did a great deal of writing on many disciplines. His position as a judge and scribe of various courts gave him access to much data that was not accessible to others. Part of his encyclopaedia *Masālik al-Aḥṣār fī Mammālīk al-Amṣār* was on the geography of the regions of Egypt, Sham, Ḥijaz and Yemen. In addition to quoting al-Tifāshī's account –under the section of al-Sham–, al-ʿUmarī has given a detailed account of the extent of the boundaries of the region; his account is unique and very different from that of al-Tifāshī. He states (Al-ʿUmarī 1986: 208-209):

والقُدس الشريف الأرض المقدسة مشتملة على مدينة القدس وما حوله إلى نهر الأردن المسمى بالشرقية إلى فلسطين المسماة بالزُملة طولاً، ومن البحر الشامي إلى مدائن لوط عرضاً، غالبها جبال وأودية إلا ما في جنباتها  
*Al-Quds al-Sharif, al-Ard al-Muqadasah* encompasses the *Madinat al-Quds* and the area around it up to the River Jordan which is named *al-Shari'ah*, up to Palestine which is named Ramla in width, and from *al-Bahr al-Shami* to the cities of Lot in breadth. Most of this land is mountains and valleys, except what is on the sides.

As is clear from the outset, al-ʿUmarī's account includes no dimensional aspect to it at all, as he only gives a description of the extent of this land and the sites covered within it. It seems that he did not want to get involved in the uncertainty over the dimensions of al-Tifāshī. Thus he is not caught up in one understanding of the possible extent presented by al-Tifāshī, especially since areas within his description lie outside the second option.

Al-ʿUmarī makes an interesting connotation in the opening sentence where he equates the region of *al-Quds al-Sharif* with the *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* (Holy Land), taking them as identical entities. He was probably the first scholar to state this explicitly; al-Tifāshī made a similar connotation but his was only implicit. This means that both entities are the same and their extent would be exactly the same. This issue, however, is discussed in detail in the conclusion.

Al-'Umarī's account is very similar to the description of al-Maqdisī, as he names some of the locations named by al-Maqdisī, though with a briefer description. He uses the name *al-Quds al-Sharīf* to describe this region, since it was a popular name during his time for the area and specifically the city. He however names the walled city, *Madinat al-Quds*, thus meaning the city of *al-Quds*. Apart from this, he is cited in the following paragraphs as using both *Madinat al-Quds* as well as *Madinat al-Quds al-Sharīf* (al-'Umarī 1986:209). He made such a distinction between the city and the region by adding the word city before the name; however, when he uses the name on its own he is mostly referring to the region as discussed earlier (chapter five).

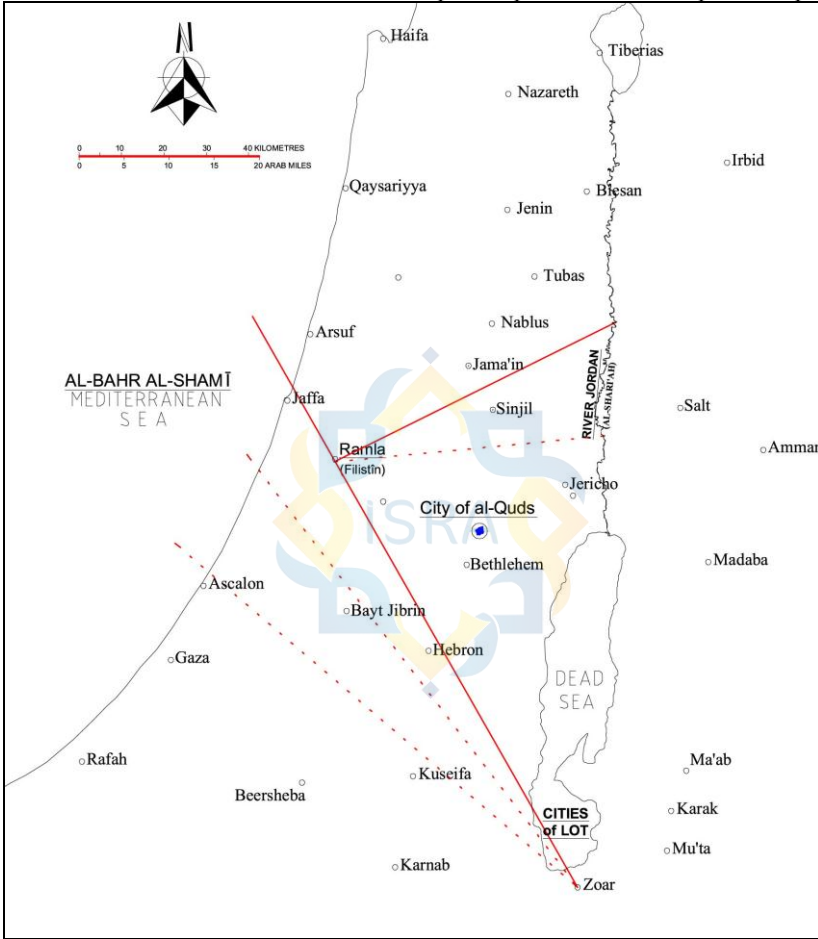
He uses two names for the same sites twice. One is for the River Jordan and its synonym is *al-Sharī'ah*; this was one of the names used for the river and was the most popular at that time. The second case was for Ramla, and its synonym was *Filastīn* (Palestine). This was a popular name for the city as it used to be the capital of the province of Palestine; the name was still attached to it for some time even after it had ceased to be the capital.

The other sites al-'Umarī also refers to were *al-Baḥr al-Shamī* (the Shamī Sea), which was one of the names for the Mediterranean Sea at the time. Finally he refers to *Madāīn Lūt*, the cities of Lot, which refers to the lower basin of the Dead Sea and the town of Zoar. The site of the Dead Sea in general and specifically that of the lower basin is considered by many Muslim chronicles and geographers as being the destroyed cities of Lot, except for Zoar which was spared.

From understanding the locations of the sites named and putting that with the directions given, it is possible to depict a map of exactly what he would have been referring to. He begins by giving a fixed central point and then two axes, length and breadth. The length he makes from the River Jordan till Ramla; as for the breadth he makes this from the Mediterranean Sea to, say, Zoar. For the breadth, he starts it from within the Mediterranean Sea, and he clearly states this in the text, where he uses the word *min* (from) which would refer to within its span. One might think it is easy to draw two lines on a map connecting these sites, but this is much more complex as two of the named sites span a long area, the River Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea. However, a mid point in the River Jordan, and a parallel point into the Mediterranean Sea, were taken. The following map shows how it would look, with dotted lines showing other possible axes.

As can be seen, it is not easy to draw these axes since they are not perpendicular. Moreover al-'Umarī fails to specify the exact extent of

the boundaries to the north and the south in his account. If these two directions are known it would have helped depict a more complete map.



Map 6.6: Al-'Umarī's possible axes

Nevertheless, in another statement, he does give the northern directions; he states (Al-'Umarī 1986: 124):

وإلى جانب القدس مدينة نابلس محسوبة على الأرض المقدسة وداخلها في حدودها

To the side of *al-Quds* lies the city of Nablus which is regarded as part of *al-Ard al-Muqadasah*, and is within its boundaries.

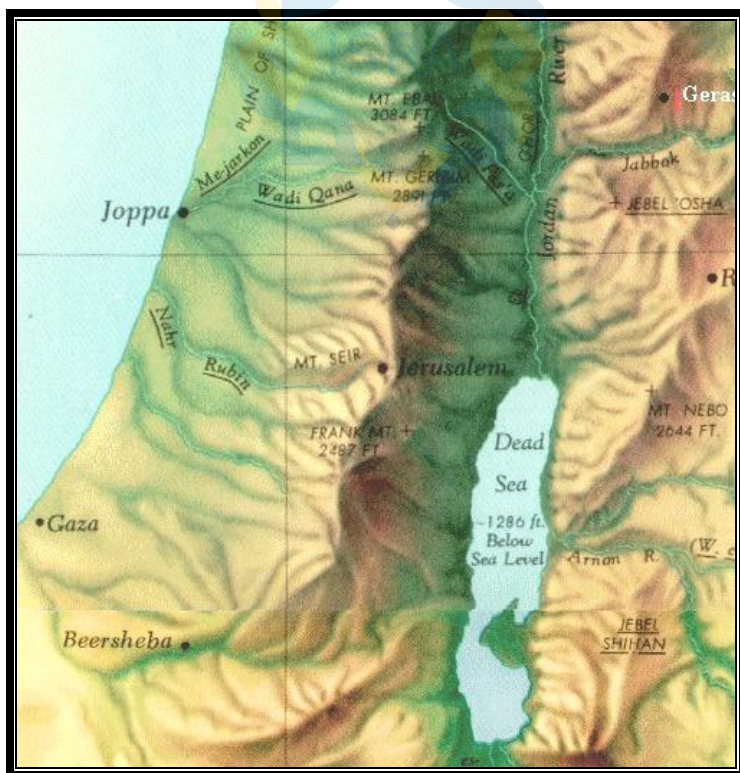
As he clearly equates al-Quds al-Sharīf and the Holy Land this would have been referring to both; therefore Nablus can be considered as part of this region. Thus from this statement the northern limits are partially

solved, but the question is, how much does it extend beyond Nablus? The last sentence is of crucial importance as it would solve many of these mysteries. After naming the above sites, he moves on to describe the topography of these areas:

غالبها جبالٌ وأوديةٌ إلا ما في جنباتها

Most of this land is mountains and valleys, except what is on the sides.

The topography of these areas matches exactly the topography of the land today. There is a chain of mountains starting from Kuseifa in the south and extending to beyond Nablus and, just before Jenin in the north, they vary from around six hundred metres above sea level to over a thousand metres. This spans over a hundred kilometres in length from north to south and between thirty to fifty kilometres in breadth from east to west. Moreover, al-'Umarī states that most of this area is mountainous, though only one of the sites is named in his account of the boundaries, and that is the city of al-Quds.



Map 6.7: Topography of the region

Source: <http://www.ouraqsa.com/uploads/aqsanews/0905061157461522Pal-Topography.jpg>

Nonetheless he does not stop there, but adds that the sides of this region are neither mountains nor are valleys. Indeed this is so, since the topography of these areas east and west of the mountainous areas consist of very low plains. To the west the mountains gradually decrease until they reach the sea, where one of the named sites lies; this is Ramla. To the east within a ten-kilometre area there is a sudden drop from six hundred metres above sea level to three hundred metres below sea level, at which the River Jordan is positioned. The Dead Sea is positioned even lower being the lowest point on Earth at nearly around four hundred metres below sea level. As for Zoar, it lies at around three hundred metres below sea level.

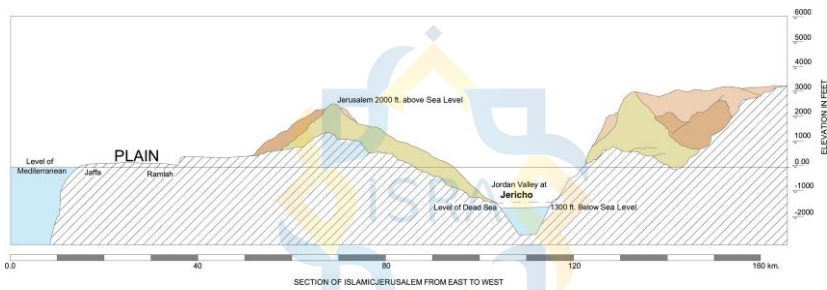
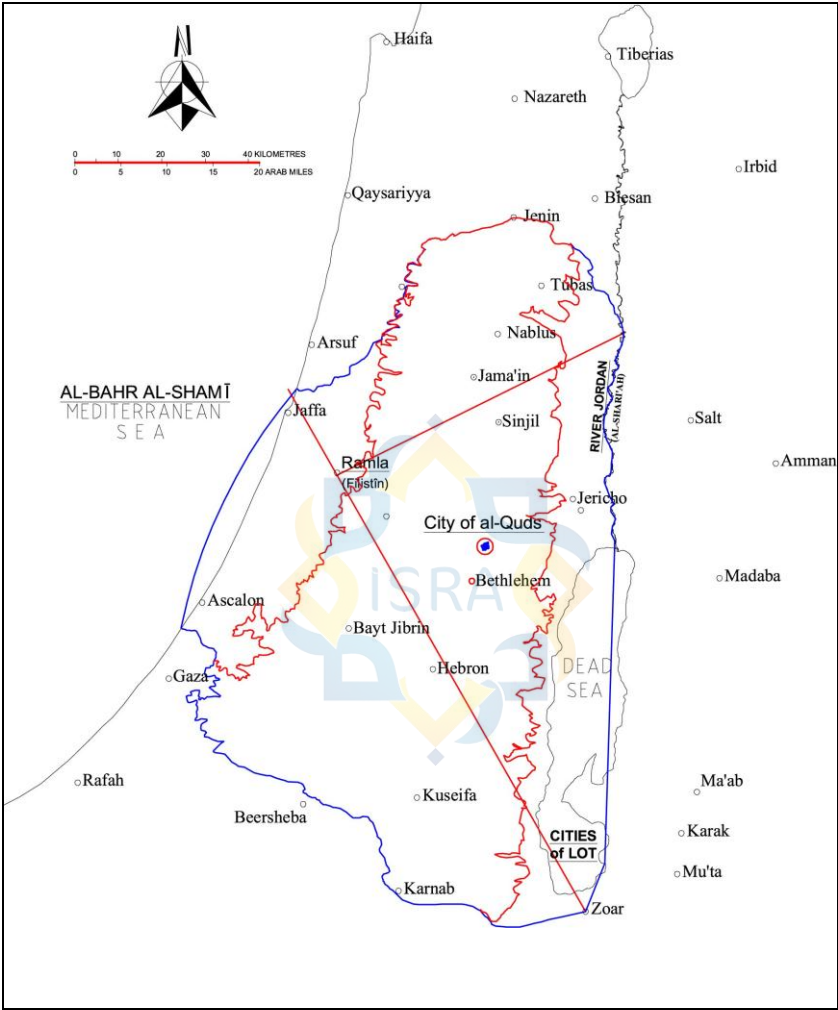


Figure 6.6: Cross-section of topography of region

This topographical information from al-ʿUmarī by has helped greatly in depicting a more precise picture of the boundaries of this region. By putting both the named sites and the topographical information together this gives map 6.8. In which the minimum extent has been taken to depict the map, since the mountains on the southern and northern sides do not completely vanish. Also from the account it is not very clear how great an expanse of the sea was considered, and so there are still some vague areas.

If al-ʿUmarī's account were to be combined with al-Tīfāshī's dimensions this would be found to be very similar to al-Maqdisī's, except for some minor differences. Moreover another scholar al-Qalaqashandī (d.821 AH/ 1418 CE) gives a very similar account to that of al-ʿUmarī, though he only mentions the Holy Land and not al-Quds al-Sharīf. Thus account was discussed in the chapter on the extent of the Holy Land (chapter two).





Map 6.8: Al-Umarī's extent of the boundaries for the region

### Southern Boundary

Many scholars mention the southern boundaries of the region of Bayt al-Maqdis when discussing the extent of the wilderness of the Israelites. The first to mention this was Abū 'Ubaydah (d. 209AH/ 824CE) who places parts of *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* on the frontier with the wilderness; he states (Abū 'Ubaydah nd: 9):

وبعض حدود التيه بلاد أرض بيت المقدس

And some of the boundaries of the wilderness are *Bilād Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* A



Here is a reference to *Bilād Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* and its having a frontier with the wilderness in Sinai. This would be from the area after Beersheba. Al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. 346AH/957CE) also talks of the wilderness of the Israelites, but in more detail as he allocates its geographical extent as having one of its frontiers with Bayt al-Maqdis; he states (al-Iṣṭakhrī 1927:53):

وأما تيه بني إسرائيل فيقال إن طوله نحو من أربعين فرسخاً، وعرضه قريب من طوله، وهي أرض فيها رمال وأرض صلبة، وبها نخيل وعيون مفتوحة قليلة، يتصل حد له بالجفار، وحد بجبل طور سينا وما اتصل به، وحد بازاء بيت المقدس وما اتصل به من فلسطين، وحد له ينتهي إلى مفازة في ظهر ريف مصر إلى حد القلزم.

As for the wilderness of the Israelites, it is said that its width is around forty parasangs [Arabic *Farsakh*]<sup>8</sup> and its breadth is close to its width, and its grounds are sandy or solid and within in it are very few palms and springs. One of its sides extends to *al-Jafar*, and another with Mount Sinai and what is connected with it, **another of its limits extends to beside Bayt al-Maqdis and what is connected with it from Palestine**, and another limit extending to a *mafazab* in the back of the *rif* of Egypt up to *al-Qalzam*.

What is of interest us here again is that Bayt al-Maqdis is taken to have borders between the wilderness and the city of Bayt al-Maqdis. But this frontier of the wilderness is a very long distance, and it makes no sense for the city to have such a frontier. However a frontier can exist between the wilderness and the southern frontier of the *region* of Bayt al-Maqdis.

Ibn Ḥawqal (368AH/978-9CE) also follows suit and presents an account of the extent of the wilderness that is partially different from that of al-Iṣṭakhrī. Below is the section on the land of Bayt al-Maqdis (Ibn Ḥawqal 1938:185):

...وحد له بأراضي بيت المقدس وما اتصل بها من فلسطين...

...another of its limits extends to beside *Arāḍi Bayt al-Maqdis* and what is connected with it from Palestine...

His narration is very similar to that of al-Iṣṭakhrī, but he takes it further to distinguish between Bayt al-Maqdis the city and its lands, the region. He added in front of the name the term *Arāḍi*, which thus becomes *Arāḍi Bayt al-Maqdis*. Abū 'Ubaydah used the singular *Arḍ* (land), while Ibn Ḥawqal used it in the plural. Thus it is clear that he is referring to a large region consisting of many lands which extends to the limits of the wilderness.

<sup>8</sup> Arab *Farsakh* equals three Arab miles (=~6Km) see Appendix II.

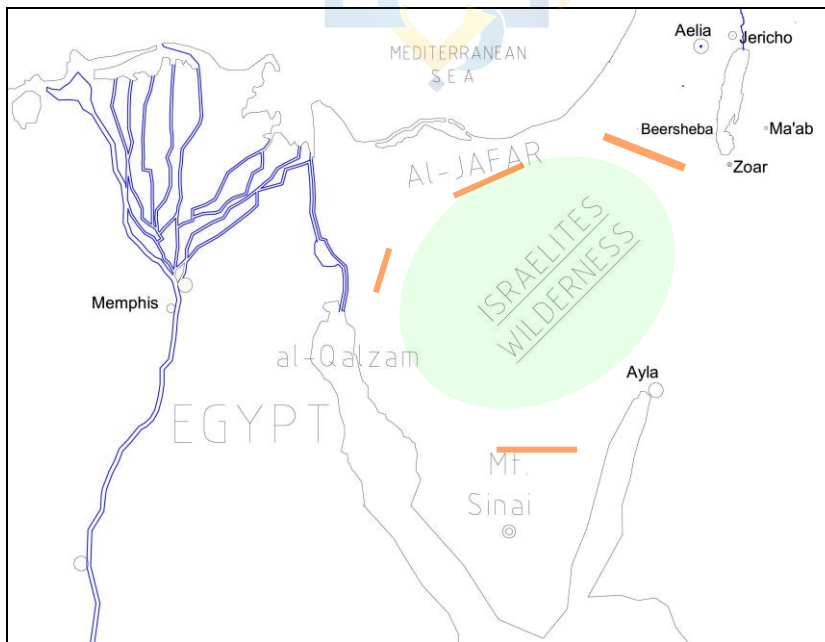
Al-Ḥamawī (d. 626 AH/ 1229CE) also mentions the whole area when talking about the extent of the wilderness and its adjacent areas (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.2:81):

يتصل حد من حدودها بالجفار وحد بجبل طور سينا وحد بأرض بيت المقدس وما اتصل به من فلسطين وحد  
ينتهي إلى مفازة في ظهر ريف مصر إلى حد القلزم

One of its sides extends to *al-Jafar*, and a side with Mount Sinai and a side connected to *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* and what is connected with it from Palestine, and another limit extending to a *mazaḥab* in the back of the *rif* (rural side) of Egypt up to *al-Qalzam*

This citation is very similar to the above citations and he uses the term *Arḍ* (land) in the same way as Abū 'Ubaydah.

From these accounts it is obvious that there existed some kind of extent to the wilderness, to have frontiers with the region of Bayt al-Maqdis. Looking at a map of the area to find an approximation of the extent of the area of the wilderness will help enormously in depicting the southern extent of the region of Islamic Jerusalem. Al-Iṣṭakhṛī and some of the others, as mentioned above, talk of a region extending in width forty parasangs (approximately 255km) and give some of the limits in some of the directions, as shown in the map below.



Map 6.9: The approximate area of wilderness and the possible boundary with the region of Islamic Jerusalem

These are approximations of the area's extent as stated by al-Iṣṭakhrī. As regards the dimensions, these are what are claimed by others and are not upheld by al-Iṣṭakhrī. As for the description, he and the others seemed much more comfortable with that and said it was their opinion also.

### Discussion of accounts

The accounts give a precise estimate of the extent of this region. Al-Maqdisī's account seems to be the most accurate, since he came from that part of the world, and had a first-hand experience of the area. As for later scholars, it seems that they themselves did not measure the area, but took measurements from others. This was not the case with everyone; al-ʿUmarī, for example, skipped narrating the dimensions and concentrated only on the descriptions of that area.

The measurements presented by al-Maqdisī correspond with the description he gave; this is so when the distance is measured as an Arab mile, according to the correct dimensions of al-Maqdisī's time. This therefore strengthens the argument concerning the accuracy of the dimensions given, and resolves what is believed to be a contradiction in al-Maqdisī's account (al-Tel 2002:67), which further proves that al-Maqdisī meant a forty-mile radius and not a diameter. The maximum distance from the centre was to Zoar, which was calculated at 82.8km, slightly less than the maximum possible distance of 85.04km.

As well as al-Maqdisī's account being the earliest full account of the extent of the boundaries of the region, it also is the most precise. Nonetheless, there are a few flaws in his account since it does not comprehensively cover all directions and leaves some areas unclear. However, by taking al-Maqdisī's account along with the other accounts, some sites not apparent in his are clarified, for instance Nablus. Also the southern boundaries which numerous narrations give it borders with the wilderness makes it more likely that the maximum possible extent—forty miles—is reached in this direction.

On the basis of these accounts, a map of the extent of the area of Islamic Jerusalem can be drawn. However, there are still some areas not included, as there is no substantial information from the above accounts on them: cities such as Jenin, Beisan, Gaza, Beersheba and Amman. This will hopefully be resolved from other narrations in the indirect accounts section in the next chapter, as some of these accounts name some sites and resolve parts of these uncertainties.

## Conclusion

From the above accounts it is clear that IslamicJerusalem, whether the name al-Quds or al-Quds al-Sharīf was used, was considered a large region that extended to cover much of Palestine/Israel and parts of Jordan today. It included many cities and towns alongside the Walled City of IslamicJerusalem such as Ramla, Jaffa, Nablus, Jericho, Bethlehem, Hebron, Kuseifa, Zoar, Ma'āb, and many more (Map 6.10).

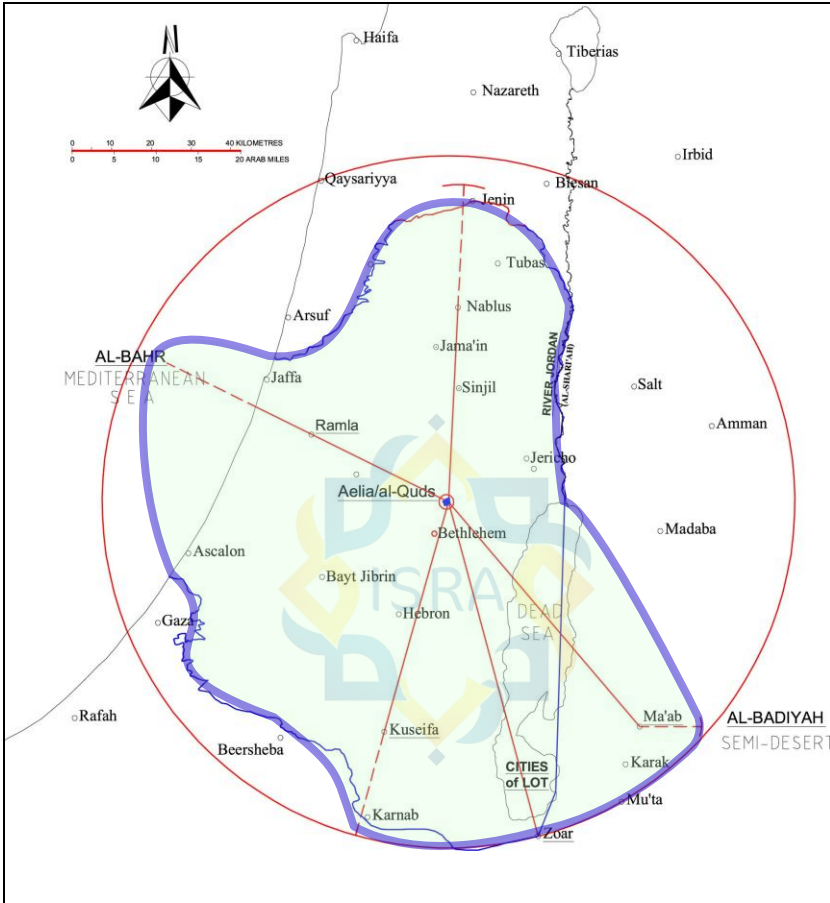
From the accounts the region clearly extended up to a forty-mile radius and not a twenty-mile radius. This is similar to the dimensions given for the Holy Land by many scholars such as al-Bakrī (chapter two); however, this issue is discussed further in the conclusion.

Al-Maqdisī's account gave the dimensional extent as well as a detailed description of the areas included and, finally, a brief topographical description of the area. This has been the most detailed account of the area ever presented; the other accounts lacked one or two of these features. Al-Tīfāshī's account gave a dimensional extent of the area, but without a description of the area or any reference to its topography. It is possible that al-Tīfāshī's account may have been more comprehensive, but, since his encyclopaedia has not been found no one can know. One important piece of information detailed by al-Tīfāshī at the start of his citation was his reference to the narrators who reported this account to him. In this citation there is no reference as to who these were, but if this section of his encyclopaedia is ever found this will help to trace back this account to possibly much earlier periods.

As for al-'Umarī's account, he gave a detailed description of the areas included as well as much more detailed topographical information. All this was very similar to al-Maqdisī's description, though al-'Umarī avoided giving a dimensional extent of the area. There could have been many reasons for this, the most convincing one being that he himself was not sure of the dimensional extent of the area and did not want to be caught up in the argument.

As for the accounts that mention the southern boundaries, they clearly refer to this large region and place one of its limits within the land of the wilderness. They have helped in resolving the extent of the region in its southern direction and have taken it up to the maximum limit of 40 miles, around 85km.

By taking these accounts, mainly al-'Umarī's, and the southern extent of the boundaries and combining them with al-Maqdisī's account, a much more detailed idea of the extent of the region of IslamicJerusalem is achieved. This gathers up the dimensional extents, the named sites and the topographical data, as shown in the map below.



Map 6.10: Framework of the extent of the region of Islamic Jerusalem as derived from direct accounts

In the following chapter more sites will be named by other scholars, in their indirect/general accounts. These are expected to resolve some of the sites and areas that are still vague. It is hoped that these accounts will aid in mapping still more accurate boundaries and give a more precise depiction of the region.



## INDIRECT REFERENCES TO THE REGION

After establishing the framework in the previous chapter, the hundreds of narrations that refer to a district or a region can now be put into perspective. Many accounts specify certain sites, while others talk of an administrative extent. The first section of this chapter looks at some of the general accounts that give specifics on the extent of the region. This will help in filling in some of the gaps in the framework and in depicting a more accurate map of the region, as well as showing that the understanding of the region spanned into many other accounts beside the direct ones.

This chapter examines the general accounts of the areas that are part of this unique region. Earlier direct accounts of the region have been discussed; however, there are hundreds of accounts by other scholars where they speak of the region generally. They do this in several different ways, by either equating the region with another known entity, or by mentioning one of the limits of this region, or by naming certain sites within the region, or even by vaguely mentioning the existence of a region. The accounts span from the Prophetic era until more recent times. Many have been discussed briefly in chapters three, four and five; in this section they are taken further to show their relevancy. Only accounts that pinpoint certain sites or give a more accurate picture of the extent of this region are mentioned. These accounts, not only confirm the existence of the framework of the region of Islamic Jerusalem, they add other sites which help to fill in those areas which are still not clear. So the boundaries of the region are becoming more accurate.

Many of the accounts examined in this section make reference to specific sites. The sources will be organised according to reference to particular locations, i.e., Jericho, Bethlehem, Hebron, Karak, Ascalon, Lud, Nablus, among others. On another note, there are small sites which lie close to one of the major sites listed above; these are listed

under the closest major heading and the case for many sites, for example, those around Hebron such as Yaqīn.

## Jericho

The ancient city of Jericho is over twenty kilometres east of the walled city of Bayt al-Maqdis. Reference to Jericho as being part of the region of Bayt al-Maqdis has been made from very early times and has continued to be referred to as part of this region for many centuries. It was first referred to by Prophet Muhammad and continued to be used by many Qur'anic exegetists, especially when referring to the entry of the Israelites into the Holy Land.

Many Prophetic traditions use the term Bayt al-Maqdis to refer to the mosque, the city or the region, interchangeably, and it is often difficult decide to which the Prophet is referring (chapter three). In the case of Jericho, however, there is a clear tradition which takes it to be an integral part of this region. This tradition as has already been quoted (chapter three) is in reference to the conquest of Jericho at the time of Prophet Joshua. In the authentic narration<sup>1</sup> Prophet Muhammad states (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.8: 275):

إن الشمس لم تجس لبشر إلا ليوشع ليالي سار إلى بيت المقدس

the Sun was not held for any human except Yousha' (Joshua) when he was marching towards Bayt al-Maqdis

The Prophet uses the term Bayt al-Maqdis when addressing the area Joshua was marching to conquer. It is well known that Joshua is associated with the conquest of Jericho and not the walled city of Bayt al-Maqdis. This is clear in many books of exegesis, where Jericho is taken to be part of Bayt al-Maqdis.<sup>2</sup> So this narration is referring to the region of Bayt al-Maqdis, and Jericho is an essential part of it.

One of those quoted by the major exegetists was the early exegetist al-Sadī, one of the first to make this connection between Jericho and the land of Bayt al-Maqdis; he is quoted to have said on the verse regarding the Holy Land (al-Ṭabarī 1999, v.4:513-4; Ibn al-Jawzī 1987, v.2:323; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.2:36):

Jericho: is the land of Bayt al-Maqdis

أريحاء هي أرض بيت المقدس

<sup>1</sup> This Hadīth is authentic under the conditions of al-Bukhārī (Ibn Kathīr 1997b, V.1: 281).

<sup>2</sup> See chapter three on al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah; see exegesis on verses 2:58.



In addition to the work of the exegetists, Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597 AH/ 1201 CE) mentions Jericho as being part of Bayt al-Maqdis in many of his books on History and *Faḍā'il*, as mentioned in chapter five. He states (Ibn al-Jawzī 1979: 110; 1995:83):

ان الله تعالى أمر موسى وقومه إلى أريحا، وهي أرض بيت المقدس

God commanded Moses and his people to head to Jericho which is *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*

In another of his books he also states (Ibn al-Jawzī 1979:110):

قال علماء السير: أمر الله عز وجل موسى وقومه بالسير إلى أريحا. وهي أرض بيت المقدس

The Scholars of *Sīyar* said: that God commanded Moses and his people to head towards Jericho which is *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*

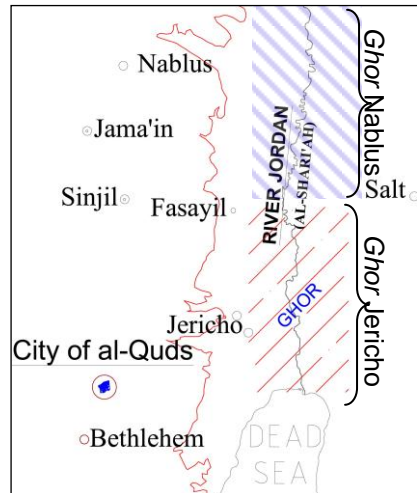
He thus also talks of Jericho as being an essential part of the *Arḍ* (land) of Bayt al-Maqdis.

Moreover, this does not mean only the city of Jericho, but the close vicinity of the city – as well as all areas west of it until the walled city of Bayt al-Maqdis. This can include its district such as the area of the Ghor, as is stated by Ibn al-Biṭār (d.646AH/1248CE) in his book on medication and diets. He mentions some herbs that come from the region of al-Quds and states (Ibn al-Biṭār Ibid nd: 293):

دهن الزقوم الشامي... كما يستخرج بغور ربحا من بلد القدس

The ointment of the Shamī *Zaqum*...as it is extracted in the Ghor of Jericho from *Balad al-Quds*

In the citation he is talking of a plant that grows in the Ghor of Jericho, the low plains around the River Jordan north of the Dead Sea. This is a different place from the southern Ghors south of the Dead Sea. Moreover, it is clearer where the southern part of the Ghor of Jericho starts, though not where the northern end of it is. The Ghor around the River Jordan extends all the way from the top end of the Dead Sea in the south to Lake Tiberius in the north. Nonetheless, there seems to have been more than one division of this Ghor: one to the south, the Ghor of



Map 7.1: Jericho and Ghor

Jericho, and another to the north associated with Nablus. This was noted by another scholar at around the same time as Ibn al-Biṭār (al-Harawī 1953:17). This could have been the extent of the Ghor of Jericho in the northern direction. According to al-Dabbagh, the villages between both Ghors would have been Faṣāil and al-Dashāh (al-Dabbagh 1973, v.2(2): 39).

Thus from all these citations Jericho and its district including the Ghor were definitely part of the region of Bayt al-Maqdis.

### Bethlehem

The small town that became well known for the birth of Prophet Jesus lies just around ten kilometres south of the walled city of Bayt al-Maqdis. Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān (d. 150 AH/ 767 CE) mentions this site in his long list of *Fada'il* where he names many others. He notes the site of the Prophet Jesus's birth as part of Bayt al-Maqdis; he states:<sup>3</sup>

Jesus was born in Bayt al-Maqdis.

وولد عيسى بيت المقدس

It is well known that Prophet Jesus was born in that ancient town, and it has been mentioned by name by many Muslim scholars, such as Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 AH/ 1449 CE), where he states (Al-ʿAsqalānī 1992, V.4: 764).

ولده بيت لحم من بيت المقدس

She gave birth to him in Bethlehem within Bayt al-Maqdis

Bethlehem is very close to the walled city of Bayt al-Maqdis, and was administratively part of Aelia even before Islam.

### Hebron

The town of Hebron is famous for the tomb of Prophet Abraham within it. It has been mentioned in Muslim accounts since the time of the Prophet; however, the first to refer to it as part of Bayt al-Maqdis was Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān (d. 150 AH/ 767 CE). He states:<sup>4</sup>

وهاجر إبراهيم من كوثاريا إلى بيت المقدس.

Abraham migrated from *Kutha(rba)* to Bayt al-Maqdis

وأوصى إبراهيم وإسحاق لما ماتا أن يدفنا في أرض بيت المقدس.

Abraham and Isaac ordered to be buried in the land of Bayt al-Maqdis.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh (1885:93-6); Ibn al-Jawzī (1989:71-73), Ibn al-Murajjā (1995:260-2), al-Khawārizmī (2000:428-30), al-Nabulsi (1990:29-31), Ibn al-Firkaḥ (1935:76-78)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Prophet Abraham moved from Iraq to near this area and not to the walled city of Bayt al-Maqdis. According to Muslim traditions, he first settled in *al-Saba'* and then moved around the region before finally settling in Hebron, where it is accepted by Muslim scholars that he died and was buried there. Indeed his son Isaac also was buried there. There is no other place in the region that this could refer to.

Other Muslim scholars have also talked of this site as being part of the land of Bayt al-Maqdis. Abū Ya'la Ibn al-Qalānsī (d. 555 AH/), as quoted earlier (chapter five), in his book refers to an incident in the year 513 AH, which took place in this land (al-Qalānsī nd:124):

وفي هذه السنة حكى من ورد من بيت المقدس ظهور قبور الخليل وولديه إسحق ويعقوب الأنبياء عليهم الصلاة من الله والسلام وهم مجتمعون في مغارة بأرض بيت المقدس وكأنهم كالأحياء لم يبل لهم جسد

And in this year, someone came with the news from Bayt al-Maqdis that the tombs of *al-Khatil* [Abraham] and his two sons Isaac and Jacob (PBUH) had been exposed together in a cave in *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*, and their bodies were still intact as if they were alive...

This obviously referred to the city of Hebron, where Muslims believe Prophet Abraham to have been buried. Ibn al-Qalānsī, or whoever narrated this to him, referred to this site as being part of *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*. Many scholars such as Ibn Taghrī Bardī (d. 874 AH/ 1469-70 CE) quote the same story with the same term *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* (Ibn Taghrī Bardī nd: 104; 1992:556).

Al-Ḥamawī (d. 626 AH/ 1229CE) also follows suit when, under the listing of Hebron in his geographical dictionary, he states (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.2: 245).

حبرون: اسم القرية التي فيها إبراهيم الخليل، عليه السلام، بالبيت المقدس، ...

Hebron: Is the name of the town, where Abraham (PBUH) is within al-Bayt al-Muqaddas.

‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (d.684AH/ 1285CE) also presents an account that includes Hebron in the region; he mentions under the listing of Hebron (Ibn Shaddād 1962:104-5):

قبور الخليل وولديه إسحق ويعقوب — عليهم الصلاة والسلام — وهم مجتمعون في مغارة بأرض بيت المقدس

The graves of Abraham and his two sons Isaac and Jacob (peace be upon them) are together in a cave in the *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*.

From all these different citations it seems plain that these scholars considered the city of Hebron was part of the land of Bayt al-Maqdis.

### *Sites around Hebron*

Other scholars have also written of many other sites or villages that are part of Bayt al-Maqdis in a very similar manner. Some mention villages around Hebron including them within the region of Bayt al-Maqdis. Al-Ḥamawī and al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 817 AH/1414CE) mention several of these sites. Al-Ḥamawī mentions (nd, v.5:489; v.2:44; v.3:498; v.4:126; v.4:203):

ياقِينَ: ... من قرى بيت المقدس، ...

Yaqīn: ... from the villages of Bayt al-Maqdis...

تَقُوعُ: ... من قرى بيت المقدس يضرب بجودة عسلها المثل.

Taqu': ... from the villages of Bayt al-Maqdis, it is very famous for its Honey

صِيعَرُ: ... وهي قرية بنواحي القدس ذكرت في التوراة.

Sa'ir: ... and it is a village in the area of al-Quds mentioned in the Torah

العُرُوبُ: ... اسم قريتين بناحية القدس فيهما عينان عظيمتان وبركتان وبساتين نزهة.

Al-ʿAroub: ... a name of two villages in an area of al-Quds

عينون: ... من قرى بيت المقدس،

ʿAynūn: ... from the villages of Bayt al-Maqdis

All these villages are far from the city of Bayt al-Maqdis; most are closer to Hebron. Yaqīn is about 10km south-east of Hebron, while the other three are north of it. Taqu' is about 15km north-east of Hebron, Sa'ir is to the north-east also at about 5km, while al-ʿAroub is about 10km in the same direction.

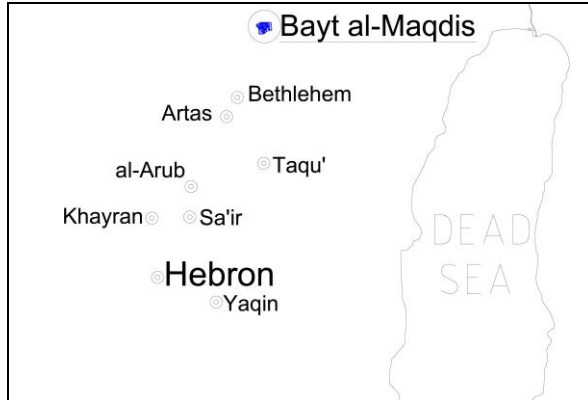
Other sites are mentioned by al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 817 AH/1414 CE) two of which are also noted by al-Ḥamawī (al-Fayrūzabādī 1991 v.3: 109; v.4: 395). In addition, he mentions another (al-Fayrūzabādī 1991 v.2: 38):

Khayran: (a village) in al-Quds

وخيْرَانُ: [قرية] أباالقدس

This was cited as well by al-Samʿanī (d.562 AH/1167 CE) (al-Samʿanī nd: 540), who also talks of ʿAynūn as being one of the villages of Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Samʿanī: 980). Although most of these places are again cited as being within al-Quds, they are quite far from the city of al-Quds. They are close to Hebron; Khayran is situated north of Hebron about twenty-five kilometres from al-Quds, and Taqu' –as mentioned earlier– is north of Hebron, while Yaqīn is south of it.

So the villages of Yaqīn, Taqu', Sa'ir, Al-ʿAroub ʿAynūn and Khayran which are normally considered as part of Hebron are also considered as part of the region of Bayt al-Maqdis, later al-Quds.



Map 7.2: Hebron and surrounding area

### Karak

Karak is situated in today's Jordan, east of the Dead Sea, famous for its castle and as the centre of many battles between the Crusaders and Muslims. Al-ʿImad al-Aṣṣahānī (d. 597 AH/1201CE), as already quoted in chapter six, mentions the poet Naṣr al-Haytī al-Dimashqī (died after 565AH/ 1170 CE), who states in praise of Nur al-Dīn Zīnkī (357):

سلبت ملكهم لذيد مناهه  
And in Arḍ al-Quds he  
overwhelmed them in an incident

وله بأرض القدس فيهم وقعة  
Which stole from their King his  
restful sleep

He is suggesting that in *Arḍ al-Quds* Nur al-Dīn badly defeated the Crusaders. However, Nur al-Dīn never went close to the city throughout his life, most of his battles being in northern Syria. He did have a few battles around the area of Karak, which is probably what is referred to here as *Arḍ al-Quds*. The site of this battle must therefore have been part of the region, which means that he considers the land of al-Quds to extend to Karak around eighty kilometres from the walled city of al-Quds.

### Ascalon

Ascalon is a town on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, about 18 kilometres north of Gaza city. It lies about sixty-five kilometres south-west of the city of Bayt al-Maqdis. The town is noted for its scholars: one was the very famous scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 AH/ 1449 CE). He was born in Egypt, though his ancestors were originally from Ascalon. It is said that his ancestors moved from the city when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn destroyed it nearly two hundred years before the time of

Ibn Ḥajar (al-‘Asqalānī 1996, v.1: 54-55). In a line of poetry he says about himself (Ibid: 54):

وَبَعْضُ مَوْلِدُهُ وَأَصْلُ جُدُودِهِ      مِنْ عَشَقْلَانَ الْمَقْدِسِيَّةِ قَدْ بَدِي

His birth was in Egypt while his ancestral origin      began from the Jerusalemite Ascalon

In this he associates his ancestral home Ascalon with Bayt al-Maqdis. Although it is quite far from Bayt al-Maqdis, the city, he still considers it to be a Jerusalemite city.

Moreover in another account to be mentioned later on, it is surmised that Ascalon was not part of this region, rather it lies in the region of Palestine and not that of Bayt al-Maqdis. This would place Ascalon on the borderline as it could have been in or out of the region.

### Lud

Lud was a major city, and later became a small town; it is situated right next to Ramla. It is very well known for the traditional foretelling of the incident of killing the Antichrist by Prophet Jesus that is to occur before the end of time. This is stated in one of the traditions of Prophet Muhammad (Muslim, Ibn Mājah 2000: 595-6). Muqātil in addition to referring to the many other sites also cites this one. He states:

ويقتل عيسى الدجال في أرض بيت المقدس.

Jesus will kill the *dajal* (antichrist) in *Ard Bayt al-Maqdis*.

He is referring to this killing of the Antichrist by the Messiah in this town.

### Nablus

Nablus was one of the major cities in Palestine before and after Islam. There are a great number of traditions in its praise quoted by many scholars. One of these is Na‘īm Ibn Ḥammād (d.228 AH/843 CE) who talks of the mount of Nablus as being part of al-Quds (ibn Ḥammād nd: 707):

أحب القدس إلى الله جبل نابلس

The most beloved part of *al-Quds* to God is the mount of Nablus

Na‘īm is quoting Ka‘b who stated that this mountain was part of al-Quds. He is, however, not the only one to have quoted this, Ibn al-Murajjā (d.~492 AH/ 1099 CE) gives a similar account that includes Nablus to be part of this region, he states (Ibn al-Murajjā 1995: 148):

أحب البلاد إلى الله تعالى الشام، وأحب الشام إلى الله تعالى القدس، وأحب القدس إلى الله تعالى جبل نابلس...  
 The most beloved land to Almighty Allah is *al-Sham*, and the most beloved land in *al-Sham* to Almighty Allah is *al-Quds*, and the most beloved part of *al-Quds* to Almighty Allah is the mount of Nablus...

In these accounts Ibn Ḥammād and Ibn al-Murajjā include the mount of Nablus as part of al-Quds. Not only that, they take it to be an essential part of it.

Moreover, al-Ḥamawī (d. 626 AH/ 1229CE) talks of Nablus and all its districts as being part of this region (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.2: 185):

نابلس وأعمالها جميعاً من مضافات البيت المقدس

Nablus and its entire districts are all adjuncts of *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*

Thus he takes Nablus and all its dependents to be part of the region of Bayt al-Maqdis.

#### *Sites around Nablus*

As in the case of Hebron, scholars have also written of other sites or villages around Nablus that are part of Bayt al-Maqdis. Al-Ḥamawī mentions a village called al-Rumylah which is located around 25kilometres south-west of Nablus:

قال السمعاني: الرملة من قرى بيت المقدس،

Al-Rumylah is from the villages of Bayt al-Maqdis

He also mentions another village also around 25 kilometres south-west of Nablus:

الشويكة: ... قرية بنواحي القدس

Al-Shawikah is a village in the area of al-Quds

The village of Jama'īl which is around 40 kilometres north of the walled city of al-Quds and around 10 kilometres south of Nablus it has been mentioned by many scholars such as al-Dhahabī (d. 748 AH/ 1348 CE) who notes this village is part of the region:

سمعت خالي الإمام موفق الدين يقول: لما قدمنا من أرض بيت المقدس ...

I heard my uncle the Imam Muwafaq al-Dīn saying: When we came from *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*... (al-Dhahabī nd:4368)

In this citation, the term *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* refers to the place of origin of Muwafaq al-Dīn who actually came from the village of Jama'īl. This is very similar to Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī's (d. 795 AH) account in which he

refers to this village as part of the *Arḍ* (land of) *al-Maqdis*. And he states when talking about Muwafaq al-Dīn (Ibn Rajab 1997, v.2:75):

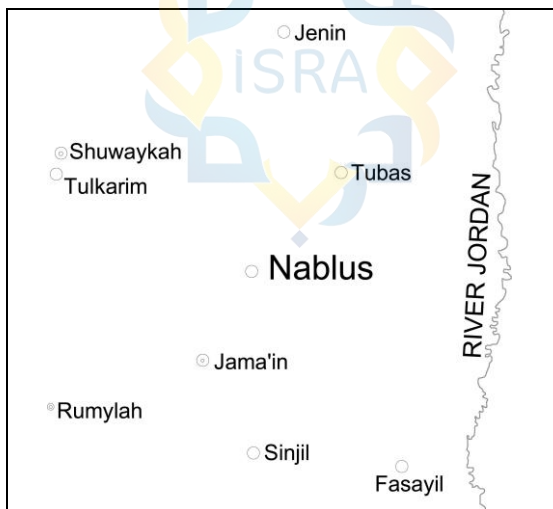
وسمعت من شيخنا وإمامنا موفق الدين أبي محمد المقدسي يقول: عمري أعرفه - يعني الشيخ العماد - وكان بيتنا قريباً  
من بيتهم - يعني في أرض المقدس

I have heard from our scholar and leader Muwafaq al-Dīn, Abī Muhammad al-Maqdisī that he said: I have always known him, meaning Shaikh al-Imad, and our house was very close to their house, meaning in *Arḍ al-Maqdis*

In this citation Ibn Rajab also clearly refers to the village of Jama'īl/Jama'in as being part of Arḍ (land of) al-Maqdis. al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 817 AH/1414 CE) is another who refers to Jama'īl as part of the region of al-Quds:

وجماعيل ... [قرية] بالقدس.

Jama'īl .... (a village) in al-Quds (al-Fayrūzabādī 1991 v.3: 516)



Map 7.3: Nablus and surrounding area

### Other Sites

These are not the only sites that have been mentioned as being part of the region of Bayt al-Maqdis; indeed, there are many more. Some have become obsolete and are no longer used, and some cannot be traced to one specific site. Many have disagreements on where they are and so on. Some are mentioned here just to give a taste of those sites that are hard to define. For example, al-Jāḥiẓ (d.255 AH/869 CE) talks of the place of burial of Prophet Joseph and states (al-Jāḥiẓ nd: 165):



وقبره علم بأرض بيت المقدس بقرية تسمى حسامي

And his grave is known in *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* in a village called Ḥusamī.

This site could not be traced to a known site, and there are many disagreements on where he is buried. Some believe that it is in Nablus or Hebron, but Ḥusamī, the village that al-Jāḥiẓ specifies, does not seem to fall within either of these two locations.

Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310AH/923CE) is another scholar who mentions an unknown site in the region; he quotes Qataḡah (d.118 AH/ 736 CE) when talking about the well Prophet Joseph was thrown into (al-Ṭabarī 1998: 128):

وهي بئر بأرض بيت المقدس معلوم مكانها.

It is a well in *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*, and its site is well known

Although al-Ṭabarī states that it is a well-known site, there are many disagreements on where this well is. Some say it is close to Sinjil, Jinin, and Tiberius (al-Harawī 1953:24). However, most of these are quite far from the walled city of Bayt al-Maqdis. This is probably why al-Ṭabarī or his narrator mentions the land of Bayt al-Maqdis, meaning it is far from the walled city but within its region.

Other sites are also mentioned by al-Ḥamawī and al-Fayrūzabādī such as Sadr, Sabah, Burṭas, Ramah, al-ʿIzariah, Yabroub, some of which could not be located.

### General accounts

General accounts includes those that equate this region with another known entity. These accounts give a general approximation of the region by comparing it with another entity that has defined extents.

#### Arḍ al-Quds<sup>5</sup>

It is narrated that an old man was brought to Muʿawiyah who questioned him about different things, one of which was why Sham was called Sham? and who were its first inhabitants? The old man gave a lengthy reply, including (Ibn al-ʿAdīm nd:156):

حل هؤلاء كلهم وهم بنو كنعان السواحل من أنطاكية، والساحل كله من صيدا وطرابلس وحمص وأرض القدس والغور إلى عمل البشنة،...

...All of them, the tribe of Canaan, inhabited the coast of Antioch, and the entire coast from Sidon and Tripoli, Homs and *Arḍ al-Quds* and *al-Ghor* up to the province of *al-Buthaynah*...

<sup>5</sup> See chapter five.



From the map it can be seen that the Canaanites inhabited a substantial area of al-Sham. The account can be split into northern and southern parts; the northern part would include all the named places except two, i.e. the Ghor and *Arḍ al-Quds*. The two areas that cover all the southern part are the Ghor and *Arḍ al-Quds*; the Ghor is the low-lying area from Lake Tiberius to the Dead Sea (this is the shaded area on map 7.4). Some would also include the area south of the Dead Sea. This leaves *Arḍ al-Quds*, which would consist of a very large area from beyond Nablus in the north to well beyond Beersheba in the south.

### Area of Bayt al-Maqdis

As was discussed in chapter three, many of the exegetists equate the Holy Land with the land of Bayt al-Maqdis. Moreover, some scholars have equated the land of Palestine with the region of Bayt al-Maqdis. Zuhair Ibn Muhammad (d.162 AH/779 CE), after narrating a Ḥadīth of the Prophet about *al-Sham*, adds (al-Hanafi 1985:289-90):

وقال آخرون: الربوة أرض فلسطين، يعنون جهات بيت المقدس، زاده الله تقديسا....

Some other people say that *al-Rabwah* is the lands of Palestine, meaning the areas of Bayt al-Maqdis, may God increase its Holiness

Zuhair is referring to the *Rabwah* as the areas of Bayt al-Maqdis in all its directions. Moreover, *Rabwah* linguistically refers to an elevated place normally high up; thus it could be taken as the chain of mountains that run from Nablus in the north to just before Beersheba in the south - as can be seen in the topographical map above (Map 6.7 & Figure 6.6).

Al-Maqrīzī (d.845 AH/ 1442 CE) also talks of a similar extent, giving another angle to this land when putting it in the overall framework of *Bilād al-Sham*. He states (al-Maqrīzī nd2: 968):

البلاد الشامية لها جانب شرقي وجانب غربي ووسط فجانبها الغربي هو أرض بيت المقدس وفلسطين إلى العريش أول حد مصر

*Bilād al-Sham* has an eastern and a western side and a centre. The western side is *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* and Palestine to the 'Arish the start of the frontier of Egypt

He talks of the west of *Bilād al-Sham* as both *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* and Palestine, and distinguishes between them; from the context it can be implied that they can be equated even in size.

However, al-Qalqashandī (d.821 AH/ 1418 CE) gives a more specific extent when quoting Ibn al-Athir. While talking about the *Jund* of Palestine, he states (al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.4:92):

وهو كورة كبيرة تشتمل على بلاد المقدس وغزة وعسقلان

And it is a large *Kumra* that includes *Bilād al-Maqdis*, Gaza and Ascalon

Here *Bilād al-Maqdis* includes all parts of the *Jund* of Palestine except two cities Gaza and Ascalon and the context implies that they are not part of *Bilād al-Maqdis* but of the *Jund* of Palestine. This also implies that all other cities within the *Jund* of Palestine are part of *Bilād al-Maqdis*; these would include the cities of al-Quds, Hebron, Bethlehem, Nablus, Ramla and many others.

From both these accounts it would seem that though the *Jund* of Palestine shares so much with the region of Bayt al-Maqdis, they are not identical. This would further clarify the passage from al-Maqrīzī.

### Topographical Element

Many of those who have spoken of the region of Bayt al-Maqdis have given a topographical extent of the area. Zuhair Ibn Muhammad (d.162 AH/ 779CE) above gave some slight topographical information, while al-ʿUmarī, in the last chapter, described the topography in great detail, which helped to give a clearer picture of the region. Al-Ḥamawī (d. 626 AH/ 1229CE) also supplied a detailed description of the topography; he states under the listing of *al-Maqdis* (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.5: 195.):

والذي شاهده أنا منها أن أرضها  
وضياعها وقراها كلها جبال شائعة  
وليس حولها ولا بالقرب منها أرض  
وطيبة البتة وزروعها على الجبال و  
... وأما نفس المدينة فهي على  
فضاء في وسط تلك الجبال.

What I saw from it, is  
that its land, and towns  
are all in high mountains,  
and there is not around it  
nor close by it, a low land  
at all, even its plantations  
are in the mountains...  
As for the city itself it is  
in an open space in the  
middle of these  
mountains.



Map 7.5: Mountains around Jerusalem extend from Nablus (1) to Kuseifa (2)<sup>6</sup>

From the above passage, it can be seen that al-Ḥamawī is talking about a large mountainous area, and that he distinguishes between the city and the region. Another important point in his statement is that he states that the city is set in the middle of mountains. This is to some degree

<sup>6</sup> After: <http://www.ouraqsa.com/uploads/aqsanews/0905061157461522Pal-Topography.jpg>

very true, as the walled city lies in the middle of mountains that are interconnected and extend from Nablus in the north to the Negev Desert in the south (map 7.5).

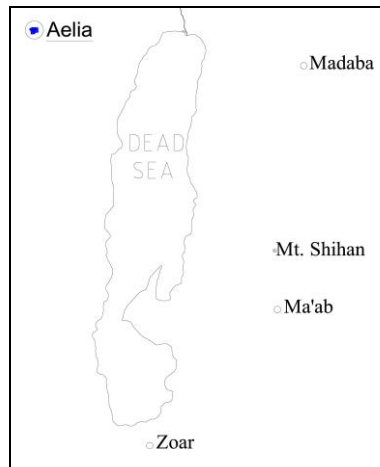
It seems from his statement that he does not consider the Dead Sea basin, which is in a very low-lying area or the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, or the Negev Desert, to be part of this region. Rather it seems that he takes the region of Bayt al-Maqdis to extend only up to the end of the mountainous area on each side, and therefore just before the Dead Sea and the River Jordan to the east. To the west, this area would not include the cities on the seashore. To the south, it would probably extend to the end of the mountainous area on this side, which is the start of the desert at al-Kuseifa. However, some may argue that this could apply only to the close vicinity of the city and not as far as this. This can be counter-argued on the basis of other citations in which al-Ḥamawī assign many other sites to the north and the south to this region. He names to the south the city of Hebron and beyond it to Yaḳīn as part of this region. To the north he names Nablus and other sites and areas mentioned above.

It is also important to note that al-Ḥamawī states clearly, at the start of his passage, that this is only what he was able to see from this land. This shows that he was uncertain, which could mean that this land might have been much larger from the east and the west. Also when listing *al-Shawaikah*, north-west of Nablus, he states that this was what al-Samʿanī claimed. Thus he had some opinions and at the same time some certainties about the extent of the region.

He also mentions sites outside the region but overlooking it, such as Mount Shiḥan which –as he says– overlooks the mountains of al-Quds: (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.4:1071.):

شَيْخَانٌ: ... جبل مشرف على جميع الجبال التي حول  
القدس وهو الذي أشرف منه موسى عليه السلام فنظر إلى  
بيت المقدس فاحتقره وقال: يارب هذا قدسك فتؤدي إنك  
لن تدخله أبداً فمات عليه السلام ولم يدخله.

Shiḥan: ... a mountain that overlooks all the mountains around al-Quds, and it is the mountain that Moses (PBUH) looked out on Bayt al-Maqdis from and he showed contempt for it and said: O Lord is this Your Quds, so he was told that he would never enter it, so he (PBUH) died without entering it



Map 7.6: location of Mount Shiḥan

Shiḥan is further away than all the sites he names; indeed it lies on the other side of the Dead Sea, thus actually overlooking the chain of mountains of al-Quds as is also argued by al-Fayrūzabādī (1991 v.1: 469):

كَالشَّيْحَانِ، ... جَبَلٌ عَالٍ حَوْلَ الْقُدْسِ.

Like al-Shiḥan .... A high mountain around al-Quds

Thus neither consider it to be within the region of IslamicJerusalem, but to overlook it in some directions. This is indeed the case and, having visited the area, it is true that from this high point one can overlook the chain of mountains of which the city of IslamicJerusalem is a part. People in the area say that on a clear night they can see the lights in the city of Hebron which is just parallel to this site.

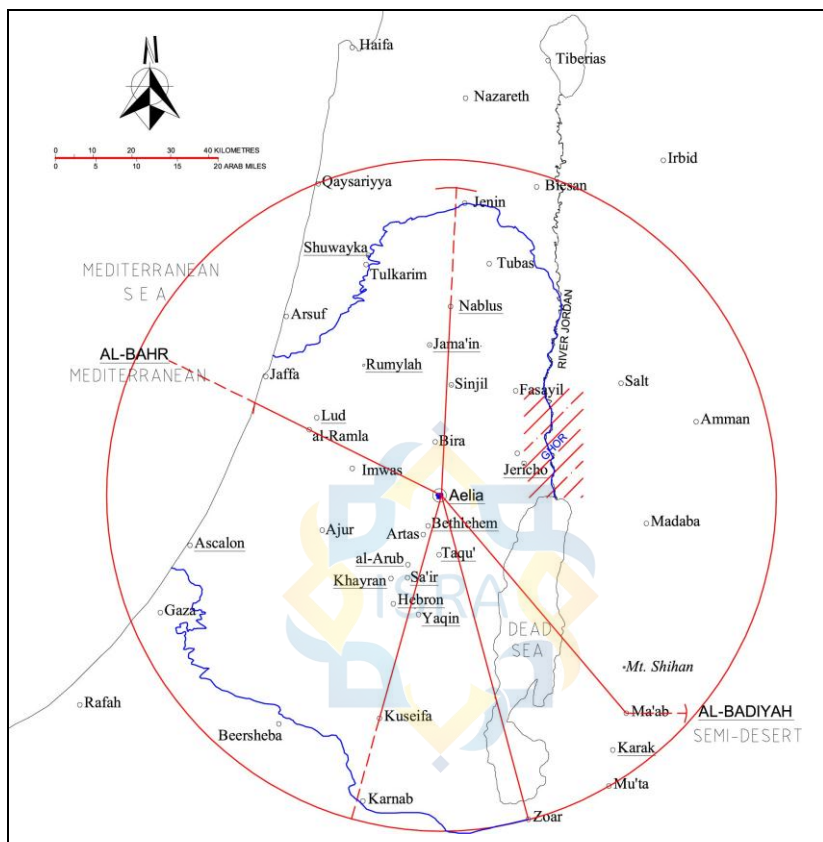
### Conclusion

The above accounts confirm the conclusions arrived at in the previous chapter; they more or less cover all the areas established in the framework. The conclusion of the extent of the region arrived at from the general accounts is widely accepted, and not solely from the direct accounts. The general accounts point to certain sites and locations not mentioned in the direct accounts, and thus help to represent a more precise map of the region. In addition they show a consistency in the extent of these boundaries.

As well as confirming already named sites, these accounts have helped resolve disputes regarding areas such as Ascalon in the south-west and al-Shuwaykah in the north-west. And also, some areas such as Amman have been verified when no accounts existed to confirm them, and others such as Mountain Shiḥan have been excluded. The map below (7.7) shows a list of the areas that have been specified and where they fit into the general framework.

From these accounts those that equate the general area fit perfectly within this understanding. Also a more precise delineation of the boundaries in some areas was achieved, especially around the areas of Ascalon, al-Shuwaykah and Mount Shiḥan. Thus Ascalon, as there are two conflicting accounts, would be placed at the borderline. As for al-Shuwaykah, it is surely within the region, but the areas north and west of it are not necessarily part of it. In the case of Mount Shiḥan, as Ma'āb is part of the region, the line would turn into the Dead Sea, and exclude Mount Shiḥan and everything east or north of it.





These accounts show a consistency in the extent of these boundaries. As they do not appear to have changed, they can be compared to those of the Haram boundaries in Makkah, which cover a large extent of area besides the city of Makkah and that of the Haram in Madinah; in both cases the boundaries were set and never changed.





## ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES OF ISLAMICJERUSALEM

This chapter takes a detailed look at the administrative area of IslamicJerusalem. As was mentioned in the Introduction, Makkah and Madinah have religious limits as well as an administrative one. Makkah had the area of the *Haram* as a religious limit well before Islam; as for Madinah, it was introduced by Prophet Muhammad. Moreover there also seems to have been an administrative extent to this area well before Islam which differed from the religious ones. In the case of Madinah this is very clear: when the Prophet settled in Madinah he set out the area of the *Haram* and named certain sites it extended to. This included not only the inhabited areas of Madinah, which would normally fall within the administrative limits, but it extended to certain mountains and sites. In later periods it extended further to cover areas far off such as Dawmat al-Jandal. This seems to be the case with the third sacred area in Islam, IslamicJerusalem. Thus this section examines whether there is any relationship between the administrative boundaries and those already established above.

The section attempts to examine the administrable division for this region from around the seventh century paying special attention to the eras in which those who have given an explicit account of the region have lived. The administrative boundaries can then be compared with those given by them in the previous section, for similarities or differences. Deciding the exact extent, however, especially in the early Muslim periods, is not easy as there are very few accounts from those periods that refer to those extents. This is due to the nature of the conflicts in this region; there was constant give and take in the lands of the regions between different powers. Thus often when one of these powers lost control over part of its administrative region of IslamicJerusalem, it no longer was part of this administrative district.

Another problem when looking at the administrative limit is the different terms used for an administrative region, ranging from *Kumra* to *Nijābah* and so on. It is very difficult to translate these terms into English, so often just the Arabic transliteration is used.

### The wider region

Before discussing the relatively smaller administrative district of Islamic Jerusalem, it is important to look at the wider picture of the whole region of Syria and its provincial divisions.

The area of al-Sham was divided into many provinces before the Muslim conquest. The Byzantines had divided the area of historical Syria thus, and, from around 400 to 600 CE, these regions more or less remained constant. These were the regions of: Syria Prima (SYR I), Syria Secunda (SYR. S), Phoenicia Marittima (PH), Phoenicia Libanensis (PH. L), Arabia (ARAB), Palestina Secunda (PAL II), Palestina Prima (PAL I), and Palestina Tertia (PAL III). Interest here is focused on the three Palestines. Palestina Prima included the city of Aelia and many other cities; its northern borders reached beyond Nablus and its southern limit extended beyond Ascalon. This was in addition to having the western limits at the Mediterranean Sea, and on the eastern side the River Jordan and most of the Dead Sea. As for the other two provinces; Palestina Secunda included the areas north of Palestina Prima around Lake Tiberius, and Palestina Tertia included all the area south of Palestina Prima to Ayla, as well as the peninsula of Sina.

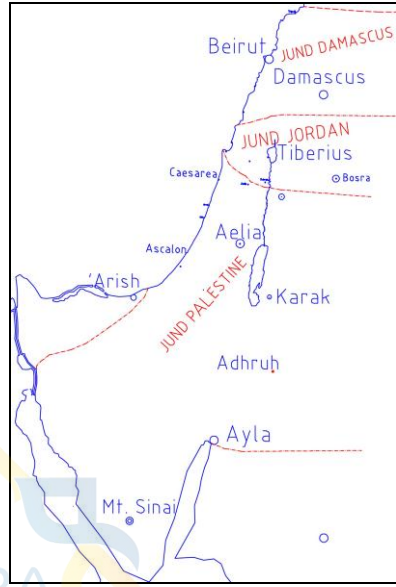
These provinces remained constant more or less for around two hundred years until the second decade of the seventh century when they were conquered by Persians. They were, then restored by the Byzantine Heraclius after he reconquered the whole of Syria (Avi-Yonah 1966:121-124). But this did not last long; another power, this time the Muslims, were preparing to conquer the region. However, after the Muslim conquest, changes to the Byzantine provinces varied from being very slight in some provinces such as Palestina Secunda, to the total elimination of the province of Palestina Tertia.

With the arrival of the Muslims the whole of al-Sham (historical Syria) was divided into four parts, to start with for military purposes but later adopted for administration. The system implemented was unique, and not found anywhere else in the Muslim Empire (Al-Ḥamawī nd, v.1: 55).<sup>1</sup> It was divided into four *ajnad* 'provinces' (sing. *jund*), which literally means a soldiery or a troop. Below is an approximation of their extents.

<sup>1</sup> Provinces within the Muslim Empire had other terminologies such as *Miṣr*, *Wilāya*, or *ʿAmal*.



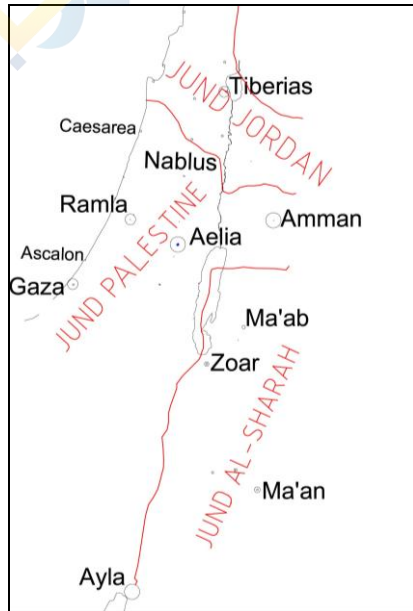
Map 8.1: Byzantine Provinces of al-Sham



Map 8.2: Approximation of the Ajnād

The city of Bayt al-Maqqdis lay within the *jund* of Palestine, together with most of the major cities that lay in Palestina Prima and Terita. These provinces however did not stay the same for long, a fifth *jund* being added to them about fifty years later, and others later on. Moreover these provinces were not constant; indeed, they fluctuated under different rulers ('Athamina 2000:175). In some reigns this would reduce the size of a *jund* and increased one or more in another, depending on the political situation in the region, as well as other factors ('Athamina 2000: 181-2).

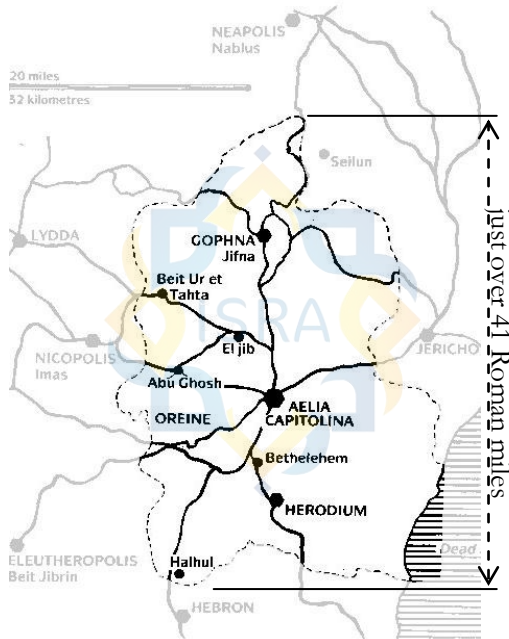
Al-Maqqdisī mentions these divisions in the fourth Muslim century. He talks of another, *al-Sharah*, mainly lying within the eastern part of the Byzantine Palestina Tertia (shown opposite).



Map 8.3: Al-Maqqdisī's division of the Ajnād

### The administrative district prior to the Muslim conquest

After the Jewish revolt in the third decade of the second century CE, Hadrian formed a new colony and named it Aelia/Aelia Capitolina. This was not just the city but extended to cover a wider area. According to Avi-Yonah, this city district extended from south of Nablus to the north of Hebron, together with other city districts around it such as Eleutheropolis to the south and Neapolis to the north and many others (Avi-Yonah 1966:155-9; Wilkinson 1990:89) as shown below.



Map 8.4 :Roman boundaries of the district of Aelia, from 135CE according to Wilkinson (1990:89) based on Avi-Yonah

This can be supported with a single narration from Muslim sources, in which two people from the region were discussing it in the company of the Prophet. It refers to the endowment of the Prophet of the land of Hebron and the area around it to Tamīm Ibn Aws al-Dārī. Some narrations argue that the Prophet endowed this land while he was in Makkah before the fifth year of Prophethood ~8BH/615CE<sup>2</sup>, and mention a discussion between Tamīm and his brother in which they were trying to decide which part of al-Sham they wanted granted to them. Tamīm suggested that they ask for Bayt al-Maqdis and its *Kumār*

<sup>2</sup> As discussed in chapter two.

(districts)<sup>3</sup> (Ibn 'Asākir 1995, v.11: 64-65; al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.13:125-27). However, Abū Hind, Tamīm's brother, said, "I don't think we will be able to get it", so Tamīm then suggested *Bayt Jibrīn* and its *Kura* (district) (Ibn 'Asākir 1995, v.11: 64-65; al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.13:125-27). But his brother pointed out this was even bigger than the previous one, so they decided to request some villages: Hebron, *Bayt 'Aynūn*, *al-Marṭum* and *Bayt Ibrāhīm*. (Ibn 'Asākir 1995, v.11: 64-65; al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.13:125-27). This narration shows that there were at least two administrative districts in the region, one based in the walled city of Aelia, Aelia Capitolina, and one in Bayt Jibrīn, Eleutheropolis, in addition to the villages around Hebron where they did not name a district.

This supports, to some extent, Avi-Yonah's argument since the district of Bayt Jibrīn was slightly bigger than that of Aelia. However, other accounts from the time of the conquest are contrary to this –they talk of a much larger region of Aelia. This could, however, refer to the reformation of the districts by Heraclius after he regained the region from the Persians; he could have possibly restructured the region of Aelia to cover a much wider area.

### **The administrative districts at the time of the Muslim conquest**

Accounts from contemporaries of the Muslim conquest and even later accounts talk of a much wider region than that claimed by Avi-Yonah. Many of these accounts were discussed in chapter two and from those it was quite clear that they were talking of a wide region, not just a city district. One of these narrations referring to a wider region was cited by al-Ṭabarī who quotes more than one contemporary of the conquest as having mentioned it. He quotes two contemporaries to have said (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.4:192):

افتتحت إيلياء وأرضها على يدي عُمر ...

Aelia and its land were conquered on the hands of 'Umar ...

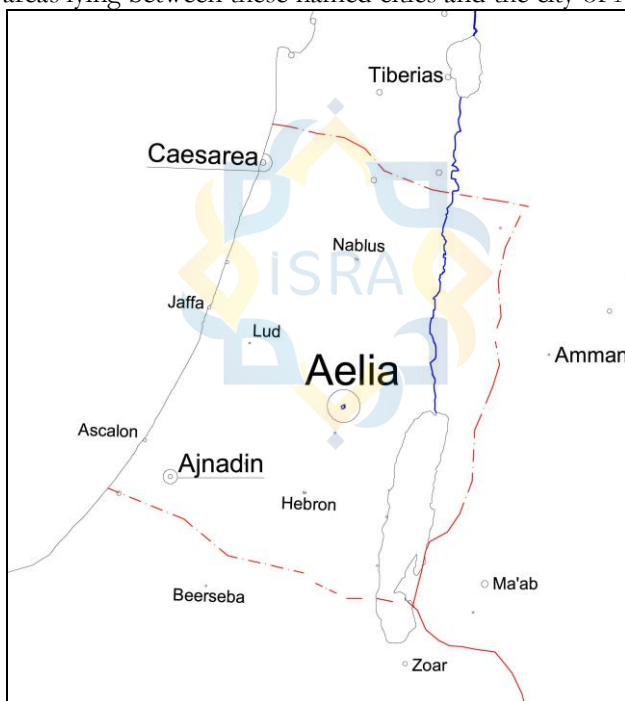
This clearly tells of a land belonging to Aelia; moreover, this is supported by another narration which names certain sites very far away from the city as being within this wider region. This was quoted from another contemporary (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.4:192; Ibn Kathīr 1997b, v.7:47):

<sup>3</sup> *Kumār* is the plural of *Kura* which is a district or a province with many villages and a chief town or city. There are sometimes up to three hundred villages (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.1:54). Therefore what is implied here is that *Bayt al-Maqdis* had many districts and each district had many villages and its own chief town or city.

...وفتحت إيلياء وأرضها كلها على يديه، ما خلا أجنادين فإنها فتحت على يدي عمرو، وقيسارية على يدي معاوية.

Aelia and all of its land was conquered at his hands except for Ajnādīn which was conquered at the hands of 'Amr, and Caesarea at the hands of Mu'awiyah...

This statement clearly implies that Aelia was a vast region and that all its land and sites were conquered by 'Umar, except for the sites of Ajnādīn and Caesarea which were an integral part of it. This explicitly means that these two named sites were part of Aelia's region; this was in addition to all other areas lying between these named cities and the city of Aelia.



Map 8.5: Location of Caesarea and Ajnādīn in the region of Aelia = Palestina Prima

Evaluating the distance between these sites and Aelia the city, by plotting them on a map, shows the distance to be quite great. Caesarea is around eighty kilometres from the walled city of Aelia, while Ajnādīn is about sixty kilometres. Also when comparing this span with previous administrative districts or provinces a clear similarity is drawn between this description and that of the Byzantine Palestina Prima. This must

surely be what the Muslims called Aelia<sup>4</sup> or even what the Byzantines called Aelia after regaining the area from the Persians. From this evidence, it can be argued that Aelia was a vast region on the eve of the Muslim conquest, one that could be equated with the province of Palestina Prima.

### **The administrative districts after the Muslim conquest**

After the Muslims had conquered most of the region, 'Umar started to reorganise the administration of Sham as a whole. He divided the area between two men: Palestine to 'Alqamah Ibn Ḥakim giving him half and basing him in Ramla (Lud), and giving the other half to 'Alqamah Ibn Mujaziz, basing him in Aelia (the city) (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.4:191). This seems to be referring to one of the Palestines, to be precise, Palestina Prima. These two halves were either a north-south split or east-west split, though the first seems the more likely since Ramla/Lud was further north than Aelia the city. Moreover, by the end of the reign of 'Umar, 'Alqamah Ibn Mujaziz appears to have taken control over the whole of the province of Palestine. However, during the reign of 'Uthman, 'Alqamah Ibn Ḥakim was the ruler of the province of Palestine (al-Ṭabarī).

From this it can be seen there existed a wider province and not only a district for Aelia. Indeed, it could be argued that the district of Aelia was abolished in the early Muslim period (Avi-Yonah 1966: 124). Conversely, there seems to have existed a city district for Aelia headed by 'Ubadah Ibn al-Šāmiṭ (al-Ḥanbalī 1999, v.1:418) and later Tamīm Ibn Aws al-Dānī (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr 2002, v.2:82; Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī 1994:319; al-Ḥanbalī 1999, v.1: 387) and others. This area was ruled by a governor appointed directly from the capital of the Muslim Empire Madinah, not through al-Sham and its governor as was the case with the other provinces in al-Sham. 'Ubadah had had a disagreement with the ruler of al-Sham Mu'awiyah and had been instructed by Mu'awiyah that he had no control over him (Ibn 'Asākir 1995, v.26:196). This led to all successive rulers of the region of Palestine being appointed directly from Madinah until the second year of the reign of 'Uthman (Athamnah 2000:213). This trend continued during the Umayyad reign since Salam Ibn Qaysar was Mu'awiyah's governor (*walī*) in Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Ḥanbalī 1999: 393). There is no evidence as to the extent of this district or whether it was just a city district or an area much greater.

<sup>4</sup> This explains the statement of 'Amr Ibn al-'Aās when he was talking of the people of Aelia breaking the treaty while he had not even conquered the city.



There seems to have been a distinct district of Bayt al-Maqdis from this period, until the time of the Crusaders' conquest. It has been noted by many geographers as being part of the province of Palestine. However, there had always been power changes in this area both before and after the crusades, which would have certainly affected any administrative boundaries. This is clearly seen in the different periods, though recorded more definitely in some periods than in others. Geographers have talked of these districts during their own time, for instance, Ibn Khurdadhbah (d. 272 AH/ 884-5CE), al-Ya'qoubī (d. 284 AH/ 897CE), Ibn al-Faqīh (d.291 AH), al-Istakhri (d. 340 AH), Ibn Hawqal (d.368 AH), al-Maqdisi (390 AH/ 1000CE) and others.

Ibn Khurdadhbah (d. 272 AH/ 885-6CE) speaks of the *Kura* (province) of Palestine and lists under it twelve *Kumar* (districts) (Ibn Khurdadhbah 1906.: 78-79). One is the *Kura* of Aelia which he explains as being Bayt al-Maqdis; on its western side he talks of the *Kura* of Ramla, the capital (Ibid: 117), and the *Kumar* of 'Imwas, Lud, Yubna and Jaffa. To the south-west he talks of the *Kumar* of Ascalon, Gaza and Bayt Jibrīn and to the north the *Kura* of Nablus and the *Kura* of Sabastiyah. Al-Ya'qoubī (d. 284 AH/ 897CE) follows suit. Under the heading *Jund* (province) of Palestine he lists about the same number of *Kumar* (districts) as Ibn Khurdadhbah. He includes Sabastiyah with Nablus and adds that the *Kura* of Bayt Jibrīn includes the Dead Sea (al-Ya'qoubi 2002: 166-167). Ibn al-Faqīh also talks of the *Kura* of Palestine and noted the same *Kumar* named by Ibn Khurdadhbah and al-Ya'qoubī (Ibn al-Faqīh 1885: 102-103). Thus Aelia would have had a small city district that would have extended to cover some of the neighbouring areas, but not areas that had their own independent city district; so it would not have extended to cover Jericho, Hebron, Nablus or Ramla, but would have ended at the beginning of the extent of these districts.

Al-Istakhri (d. 340 AH) and Ibn Hawqal (d.368 AH) take another approach and just talk of the *Jund* (province) of Palestine and its extent. They both present quite a detailed picture of the *Jund*. However, they only name the most important cities and those that lie at the extents, they do not mention the city districts at all (Al-Istakhri 1927: 56-58; Ibn Hawqal 1938:170-172).

As for al-Maqdisi (390 AH/ 1000 CE), he discusses the six *Kumar* (provinces) in Sham and their cities, one of which is the *Kura* of Palestine (al-Maqdisi 1906:154-155). In the province of Palestine he talks of the *Kura* (district) or *Rustaq* (also district) for some of the cities, a reference to a relatively small city-district. He mentions *Kura* in the case of Ramla, stating: "Ramla the capital of Palestine ... There is no place more blessed



than its *Kura* (district)" (Ibid: 164). He also adds that many cities belong to Ramla (Ibid: 164, 173); these are different from the major cities in the *Kura* of Palestine. As for some of the other major cities in Palestine he talks of their *Rustaq* (district), mentioning it for Aelia and Nablus (Ibid: 183). He also mentions Bethlehem as being part of a *Rustaq* (Ibid: 172). In addition he notes that the *Rustaq* of Bayt Jibrīn is al-Darum (Ibid: 174), the *Rustaq* of Ariha (Jericho) is the Ghors (Ibid: 175) and the *Rustaq* of Amman is al-Balqa'. From these citations it can be said that al-Maqdisī also refers to city districts for most of the major cities in the province of Palestine.

There seemed to be a city-district for the city of Bayt al-Maqdis; however, its administrative extent is not at all clear in any of the literature available from this period. A clear provisional district however appears to have existed which was that of the *Jund* or *Kura* of Palestine. This was not fixed; it kept on changing throughout the different Muslim reigns, due to the instability of the political powers controlling the region. There were, though, moments of tranquillity in the region, which was reflected in stable boundaries. But whenever there was a transfer of power from one dynasty to another, this appeared to affect the extent and order of those boundaries. This would be clearly manifested when there had been fighting to control as much of the land as possible by both parties, which divided the province into many portions. From after the time of the rightly guided Caliphs, from the time of the Umayyads till the time of the first Crusade, for example, there was a constant shift of power from one group to another.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> It was begun by the Umayyads who were fighting to defend the areas under their control; a few decades later this was followed by many revolts and finally by the Abbasids seizing power. During the Abbasids, reign there were many uprisings and revolts from the early years; which led to loss of power of the province of Palestine for many years. This was followed by the Ṭūlūnī reign (265-292 AH) over Palestine for nearly four decades and later the Ikhshidī's (327-358 AH) who ruled just over three decades. However, during their time another war broke out which led to the division of Palestine into two parts one with the Ikhshid and the other with Muhammad Ibn Ra'iq (328 AH). A few years later the Ikhshid was to regain control over the whole region. Soon after the mid fourth century the Ikhshidī lost power to the Fatimids. During the reign of the Fatimids (358-492 AH) over the region, there were times of high and low tides. There were many revolts against their rule from within, in addition to the external threat of the Qaramitah. Indeed they lost the region for many years to Ibn Hamdan (365-386 AH) and Banī al-Jarāh (different times between 358-420AH) and finally to the Seljuks (468-491 AH). They managed to regain the region from the Seljuks on the eve of the first Crusade, losing it soon after to this new power in the region.

### The Crusader Period

During the time of the Crusaders (492-583 AH/ 1099-1183 CE), the story is the same. The Crusaders' Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem started as a small state around the city of al-Quds and the cities round it and then expanded to an area extending from Beirut in the north to Ayla (Aqaba) in the south. This clearly kept on changing with the more areas captured. However, it then settled as their power over the region became stable. This power started to decrease as the Muslims began to regain some of the land, until the Crusaders lost control of the Walled City in 583 AH/ 1187 CE and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was no longer based in Jerusalem but Acre, before finally ceasing to exist about a century later.

### Ayyūbids

After Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn recaptured the region in 583AH/ 1187CE, the Ayyūbids struggled to keep the region as a whole. However, during the Ayyūbids' reign there seems to have existed a small *Wilāya* (governorate) for al-Quds, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn appointing the Prince Ḥusam al-Dīn Sarūj over it (al-Ḥanbalī 1999, v.2: 393). The third Crusade led by King Richard of England set out to take the walled city of al-Quds al-Sharīf, though it did not succeed. Nonetheless, after the Ramla treaty in 588AH, the Crusaders controlled the coast from Jaffa to Acre and shared Lud and Ramla with Muslims. The walled city of al-Quds and the area around it remained under the Muslim control and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn appointed Prince 'Izz al-Dīn Jiridīk over the *Wilāya* of al-Quds al-Sharīf (Ibid). He also appointed another prince over the land of Hebron, Ascalon, Gaza and al-Darum, and other princes for the area of Nablus. Each of the major cities had a 'Amal (rural district; borough), this was mentioned clearly by the historian Abū al-Fidā'. While it is not clear how far this *Wilāya* extended, it is known that there were separate governors for the other areas named. Thus this *Wilāya* probably covered the villages and areas close to the city, but did not extend to Nablus or Hebron. It could possibly have extended to cover Bethlehem and Jericho, since Jericho and its land were bestowed on the *Wali* (governor) of the *Wilāya* of al-Quds al-Sharīf.

After the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, rule over the *Wilāya* was handed from one to another until the Crusaders recaptured parts of it. An agreement was made between al-Kamil and Fredrick II in 626 AH/ 1229 CE which led to the division of what would have been the *Wilāya* of al-Quds into different parts. The agreement led to the handing over of the city of al-Quds and some of its villages to the Crusaders (al-Maqrīzī nd: 72; nd2:

1127; Abū al-Fidā' nd, v.2:140), as well as cities on the coast, in addition to Bethlehem. Al-Kamil kept some of the villages of al-Quds (Ibid), along with Nablus and Hebron and the Ghor (Ibn al-Athīr nd:2347-8). Al-Kamil, after taking Damascus in the same year, gave his nephew al-Nāsir Dawūd the *A'māl* of al-Quds, the parts he still controlled, in addition to Nablus and Bayt Jibrīn (al-Maqrīzī nd: 74). This remained thus for around ten years, before al-Nāsir Dawūd recaptured the city in 637 AH/ 1239 CE. He then handed it over to the Crusaders in 641AH/ 1243CE; however, after just one year Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb took it back for the Muslims, which, ended any control by the Crusaders over the walled city of al-Quds al-Sharīf.

In the following decade the Ayyūbids continued to fight internally, moving al-Quds and the region around it from one ruler to another, before finally losing control to the Mamlūks. The transition of power between the Ayyūbids over the Mamlūks was not at all smooth. It was only by 658 AH/ 1260 CE that the Mamlūks ruled the city and the region of Sham independently after defeating the Moguls.

### Mamlūks

During the reign of the *Bahrī* (648-784AH/ 1250-1382CE) and *Burji* (784-923AH/ 1382-1517CE) Mamlūks, there was a sense of stability in the city of al-Quds al-Sharīf and the area around (‘Ashūr 1983:80, 84-87; Little 1990: 186). This was reflected in a more organised administrative structure of the land under their control. To start off with the Mamlūks divided al-Sham into six main provinces (*Niyābah* or *Mammlakab*); these were: Damascus, Aleppo, Hamma, Karak, Safad and Tripoli, and more were added later on. Each of these large provinces consisted of smaller districts known as *Wilāya* or small *Niyāba* (viceroysip) (al-Qalqashandī 1987 v.4:187-148; v.9:253-4; v.12: 3-5). Al-Quds started off as a small district that was dependent on the larger province of Damascus as is argued by many (Ghawanmih 1982: 14; ‘Ashūr 1983: 111; Ali 1986.: 34; Little 1990:187; El-Aref 1996:219). Moreover, it was described by the Sultan Qalawoon in an agreement with the Franks in 682AH/ 1283 CE as *Mammlakat* (Kingdom of) *al-Quds al-Sharīf*. This however does not refer to a large province like Damascus, but a small district. This can be surmised from the rest of the places he names that are close to it: he refers to the Kingdom of the land of Hebron, Bethlehem and its lands, Bayt Jibrīn, Kingdom of Nablus, Kingdom of Jaffa and Ramla and many more (al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.14:58). The term kingdom therefore did not refer to a large province but to a small district that did not even extend to Bethlehem. Indeed Sultan Qalawoon in 711AH/ 1311 CE

moved its dependency from *Niyābat* Damascus to the newly established *Niyābat* Gaza (‘Atā’ Allah 1986: 59, 64-65; Ghawanmih 1982: 14-15).

Al-‘Umarī (700-749 AH/ 1301-1349 CE) who lived during this era, working as a scribe and a judge for the Mamlūks, mentions the ‘*Amal*’ (district) of al-Quds al-Sharīf as being dependent on Gaza together with the districts Hebron, Nablus, Ramla and others. Moreover, as well as being dependent on Gaza it lies within the bigger province of Damascus (al-‘Umarī 1986.: 118). Al-‘Umarī considers the district of al-Quds al-Sharīf to lie within the *Niyāba* of Gaza in the province of Damascus in al-Sham, thus considering al-Quds al-Sharīf to be a small district.

Al-Quds was not to stay dependent on another *Niyāba* for long. It was soon to become an independent *Niyāba* (viceroysip). There are, however, many conflicting accounts on when this occurred, contemporary scholars coming up with different conclusions (‘Āshūr 1983:111; Ali 1986: 33-34; Ghawanmih 1982: 14-17; Burgoyne 1987: 60; Little 1990: 187). What can be certain is that it became an independent province during the eighth Muslim century. Al-Qalqashandī (d.821 AH/ 1418 CE) who lived in this era and worked as a scribe for the Mamlūks was witness to this change. He mentions this transfer from a *Wilāya* to a *Niyāba* as having happened in the year 777AH/ 1375-6 CE (al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.4:205). And he discusses the different divisions before and after at length (al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.4: 104-107, 204-206, v.12:104)

After the *Niyāba* of al-Quds al-Sharīf became independent, it had many dependencies such as Ramla, Nablus and Hebron. Not only this but sometimes it extended to cover *Salt* and the Ghors. Normally, though, it just consisted of three *Wilāyas* (governorates): Nablus, Ramla and Hebron. The extent of the *Niyāba* seemed to depend on the strength of its governor (‘Atā’ Allah 1986:60; Burgoyne 1987: 60), and its maximum extent was when it included the Ghors and *Salt* and Ajloun east of the Jordan in 840AH/ 1436CE (Ghawanmih 1982:31), under the reign of the *Burji* Mamlūks.

The position of al-Quds al-Sharīf as a *Niyāba* continued till the end of the Mamlūk reign in the viceroysip in 922AH/1516CE, since all those governing the district were still being called *Nā’ib* (Viceroy). Indeed al-Ḥanbalī (d.927AH/ 1521CE), who lived during the end of the reign of the Mamlūks and finished writing his book in 901AH/ 1496CE, gives a detailed description of the administrative boundaries in his time; he states (Al-Ḥanbalī, 1999, V.2: 148):

وأما الحدود المنسوبة لبית المقدس عرفاً مما يطلق عليه عمل القدس الشريف ويسوغ لقضاة القدس الحكم فيه: فمن القبلة عمل بلد سيدنا الخليل عليه السلام، يفصل بينهما قرية سيعير وما حاذاها وهي من عمل القدس، ومن الشرق نهر الأردن وهو المسمى بالشرعة، ومن الشمال عمل مدينة نابلس يفصل بينهما قرية سنجل وعزون وهما من أعمال القدس، وتتمه الحد رأس وادي بني زيد وهو من أعمال الرملة، ومن الغرب مما يلي رملة فلسطين قرية بيت نوبا وهي من أعمال القدس، ومما يلي مدينة غزة قرية عجور وهي من أعمال غزة

As for the boundaries associated customarily with Bayt al-Maqdis which is named 'Amal al-Quds al-Sharif and the Judiciaries of al-Quds can judge in is: from the **South** the 'Amal of the city of our master al-Khalil (PBUH) [Hebron], separating between them the village of Sa'ir and the areas beside it and it is part of the 'Amal of al-Quds. Towards the **East** it is up to the River Jordan, which is also known as *al-Shari'ah*. Towards the **North** it is the 'Amal of the city of Nablus, separating between them the villages of Sinjil and Ozran which are from the 'Amal of al-Quds, and finally to complete the extent is Rā's Wadi bani Zaid which belong to the 'Amal of Ramla. Towards the **West** in the direction of the Ramla of Palestine is the village of Bayt Nuba which is from the 'Amal of al-Quds, and in the direction of the city of Gaza it is the village of 'Ajoor which is from the 'Amal of Gaza



Map 8.6: Borders of the district of al-Quds during the Mamlūks<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Source: Filistīn al-Tarīkh wal-Jūgrafiā, <http://www.aljazeera.net/in-depth/historicalpath/2001/1/1-24-1.htm>

He also gives the extent of other districts such as Hebron. This clearly shows the exact extent of the area during the late Mamlūk era, which probably continued into the early Ottoman reign.

### Ottomans

The Ottomans took over the city of al-Quds al-Sharīf at the end of the year 922 AH / 1516 CE. During the start of their reign, al-Quds was one of eight provinces (Aleppo, Damascus, Homs, Hamma, Tripoli, Safad and Gaza) that constituted al-Sham (El-Aref 1996:309). In 926AH the division of al-Sham was transformed from eight provinces to three and al-Quds al-Sharīf became part of the *Iyālet*, later *Wilāyet* (province) of Damascus (El-Aref 1996:309; Asali 1990: 203). Al-Quds then instead of having its own *Wilāya* (province) was only part of one and was now a *Sanjaq* (district), one of many districts that constituted the Province of Damascus. The *Sanjaq* of al-Quds extended to include as well as the city, the city of Hebron as well as the city, in addition to 169 villages (Asali 1990: 203, 225).

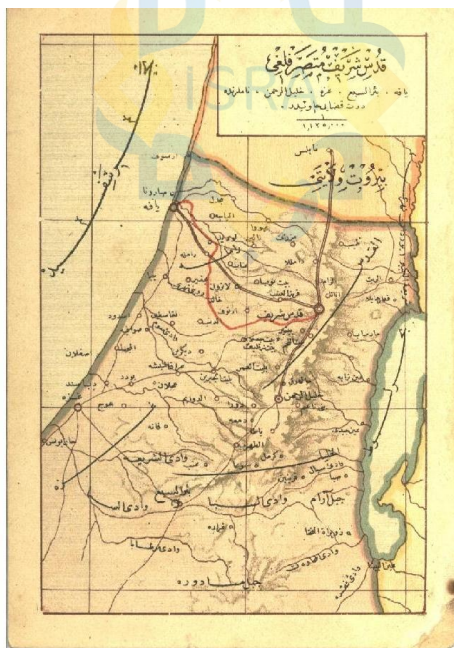
The district of al-Quds during the Ottomans moved its dependency from one province to another. In 1037AH/ 1628CE it was dependent on Egypt; about a century later in 1703CE it was dependent on the *Wilāya* (province) of Şidā and Acre. Within three decades in 1730CE it was dependent once again on Damascus; this was still the case in 1808CE. However, just after a decade and specifically in 1821CE the administrative divisions were changed again, resulting in al-Quds becoming an independent *Lima'* (district) which would have consisted of many *Aqdiyyah* (boroughs; sing. *Qadā'*) and *Navahī* (localities; sing. *Nahiyah*), which would in their turn contain many villages. Within a decade this was to change again and the province of al-Quds was joined to that of al-Sham, after which it was then lost to Egyptian rule for another decade (El-Aref 1996: 309-310).

In 1840CE the Ottomans regained what they had lost to the Egyptians, and they placed al-Quds as a dependency in the province of Damascus (Sabrī 1983: 13). However, this was changed within a year: in the year 1841 the *Sanjaq* of al-Quds was moved to the province of Şidā (Sabrī 1983: 13; El-Aref 1996: 310). In the year 1854CE it was upgraded to an independent *Wilāya* (province) but this was short-lived as it was downgraded to a *Lima'* (district) dependent on the *Wilāya* (province) of Syria/Damascus in the year 1864CE (Sabrī 1983: 14). As a *Lima'* however it still consisted of six *Aqdiyyah* (boroughs); besides al-Quds, it included the boroughs of Hebron, Gaza, Ramla, Bethlehem and Jaffa. Each of these boroughs consisted of many *Navahī* (localities) which



would in turn contain many villages (Sabrī 1983:14-15; ‘Awad 1983: 204<sup>7</sup>).

Moreover in the year 1874CE<sup>8</sup> it was upgraded again to an independent *Sanjaq* (district) known as *Mutaṣarrıfyyāt al-Quds*, its limits remaining constant for nearly half a century. It included three main boroughs: al-Quds, Jaffa, Gaza and in 1899CE Beersheba was added; in total, they included many *Nawahī* (localities) which made up well over two hundred villages (‘Awad 1983: 208-209; El-Aref 1996:311<sup>9</sup>). This was known as *Liwa’ al-Quds al-Mustaqıl al-Mumtāz* (the Excellent Independent Province of Jerusalem) (El-Awaisi 2005:31). Towards the north it extended to the boundaries of the district of Nablus, to the east it extended to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea, to the west the Mediterranean Sea and finally towards the south all the way to Aqaba on the Red Sea (‘Awad 1983: 208). This division continued until the end of the Ottoman reign and the start of the British reign in 1917CE.



Map 8.7: The Ottoman administrative district Mutaṣarrıfyyāt al-Quds al-Sharīf

- <sup>7</sup> ‘Awad mentions four *Aqdīyah* (boroughs) : al-Quds, Gaza, Jaffa and Hebron; the other two are included as part of the other *Aqdīyah*
- <sup>8</sup> There is an inscription from the year 1870CE which clearly states that it was already a *Mutaṣarrıfyya* prior to 1874CE (see chapter 5).
- <sup>9</sup> El-Aref adds another borough, Hebron

In short, as has been shown, throughout the Muslim rule from the seventh century to the twentieth century the extent of the administrative boundaries changed constantly, the changes dependent on many factors. They were clearly not set and varied in size from a small city district to a large independent province. When compared with the previous section and the boundaries presented, there are no similarities whatsoever, the latter was constantly changing while the first were more or less constant. This leads to the clear conclusion that the administrative boundaries discussed in this section are completely different from the boundaries discussed in the previous one.

### Conclusion

Unlike the set boundaries of Islamic Jerusalem, the administrative boundaries changed frequently under different reigns. The administrative boundaries changed with nearly every dynasty and even within most dynasties. At times they fluctuated from a small city district to a very large region.

This confirms that there is no connection whatsoever concerning the extent of the region of Islamic Jerusalem and the administrative districts throughout time. Though they shared the walled city and its close vicinity, and sometimes much more, it has never been proved to have been identical at any given time. The administrative extent depends on the power of the ruler and this is what affects the extent even within the reign of one dynasty.

These boundaries appear again appear to be similar to the administrative boundaries of the Harams in Makkah and Madinah, which were always changing. What would have caused confusion is the multiple usage of some of the names, and people at later times mixed up "set" and "administrative" boundaries, as is apparent from some of the texts.



## CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATION





## CONCLUSION

In this monograph the author has endeavoured to map out the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem by first looking at the Qur'anic terminologies that IslamicJerusalem is a central part of; the Land of Barakah and the Holy Land. This helped to set the wider framework for the area and give some perspective of where IslamicJerusalem lies within it. In the second part, the names and terminologies used to refer to this area and their multiple usages are investigated and how IslamicJerusalem was taken to be a region from the early Muslim period through to more recent times. In the final part, the direct accounts which clearly set out the extent of this region were looked at, in addition to general accounts which specified certain sites as being within this region, and helped depict a more accurate map. This was followed by an investigation of the administrative boundaries of the region, distinguishing them from the set boundaries of IslamicJerusalem. Here are the main findings of the previous chapters, comparing and contrasting the region of IslamicJerusalem with both the Land of Barakah and the Holy Land, in order to see where, and where they do not, overlap, with some loose ends tied up. Finally, I will recommend issues that have not been covered are recommended to be considered for further research.

IslamicJerusalem or Bayt al-Maqdis has its status embedded within the early Muslim traditions. It had been the focal point of many of the early Islamic and Muslim terminologies as it had been the main focus of the Prophet outside the Arabian Peninsula, as has been demonstrated by a number of researchers (El-Awaisi 2005:49-59, Omar 2005:35-6). This argument is further reinforced when examining these steps together with the terms or mentioned in both the Qur'an and the Hadith. The Qur'an clearly specifies two main regions of which IslamicJerusalem is a central part, namely, the Land of Barakah (*al-Arḍ al-Mubārakah*) and the Holy Land (*al-Arḍ al-Muqaddasah*), while the Prophetic traditions talk mainly of Bayt al-Maqdis as well as other names such as Aelia and al-Sham.

However, Bayt al-Maqdis was used in three contexts: the mosque, the city and the region.

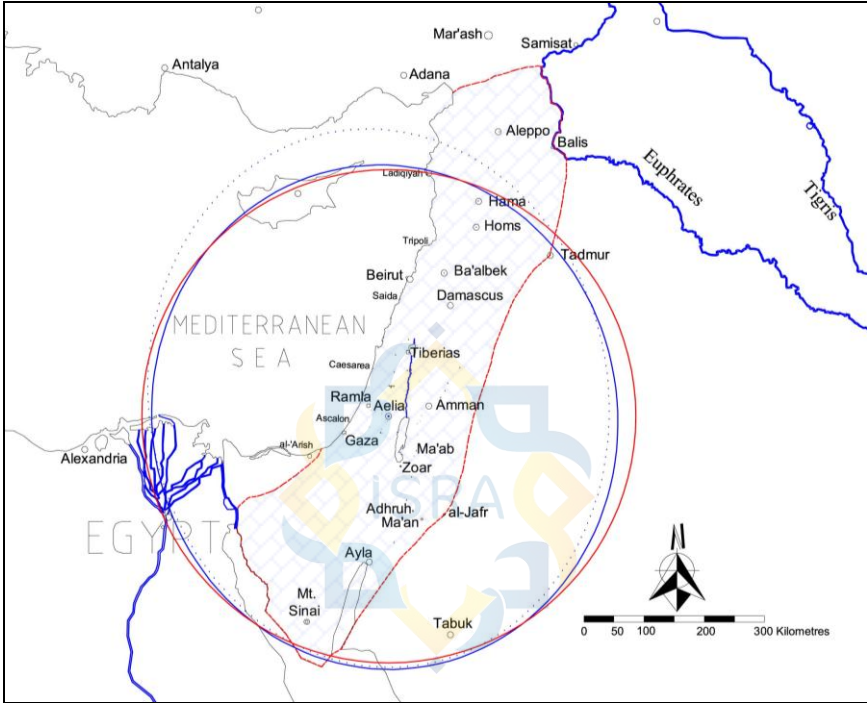
Conversely, the boundaries of Islamic Jerusalem, the Land of Barakah and the Holy Land have not had much attention paid to them, unlike the boundaries of the sacred lands around Makkah and Madinah which were marked out or approved by Prophet Muhammad. These unstudied boundaries have been examined with the limited sources and accounts that have detailed or investigated their possible extents. Other approaches have been used, such as geographic, historical, Ḥadīth, *Tafsīr* and linguistic methodologies enriching the analysis and comparisons that have been made. They have also enabled a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary study to be carried out rather than one limited to a single monotholic approach. This, in fact, is the essence of the new field of inquiry: Islamic Jerusalem studies.

### **The Land of Barakah and the Holy Land**

In chapter one it was found that the Land of Barakah carries many meanings and connotations reflected in other forms of Barakah mentioned in the Qur'an. This was reflected in its being an area of crucial importance with the growth, expansion, increase, multiplication and everlasting permanent forms of Barakah both in the spiritual and the materialistic dimensions. However, the term *al-Arḍ al-Mubārakah* or the Land of Barakah is not Qur'anic in this form. It was, nonetheless, derived from the Qur'anic phrase "*al-Arḍ al-latī Baraknā fihā*" (the Land which We placed Barakah in). Therefore, for ease of use and as a shorthand, *al-Arḍ al-Mubārakah* was used in the Arabic language.

The extent of the Land of Barakah has never been discussed in this form before now. It was nearly always equated with the region of al-Sham, which itself is not clearly defined. To reach a more precise extent of this land, from analysis of the Qur'an, most of the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq and Egypt were excluded. This was understood in conjunction with the verse which established al-Aqsa Mosque as the centre of this land, and the Barakah radiating around it. The understanding of Abd al-Fattah El-Awaisi's Circle Theory, together with the excluded areas established in the framework, present an area in a circular motion radiating around al-Aqsa Mosque up to the closest area excluded which in this case was Egypt. However, there were two options for the circulation around al-Aqsa. One was a circular shape from the centre of al-Aqsa Mosque, the second was an oval shape touching the four corners of the irregular rectangular shape of al-Aqsa Mosque. Both options are viable as they are circling al-Aqsa Mosque, share over eighty-five percent

of the same area, and only differ on the peripherals. Thus both will be listed as possibilities of being the extent of this land.



Map 9.1: Extent of the Land of Barakah over region of al-Sham

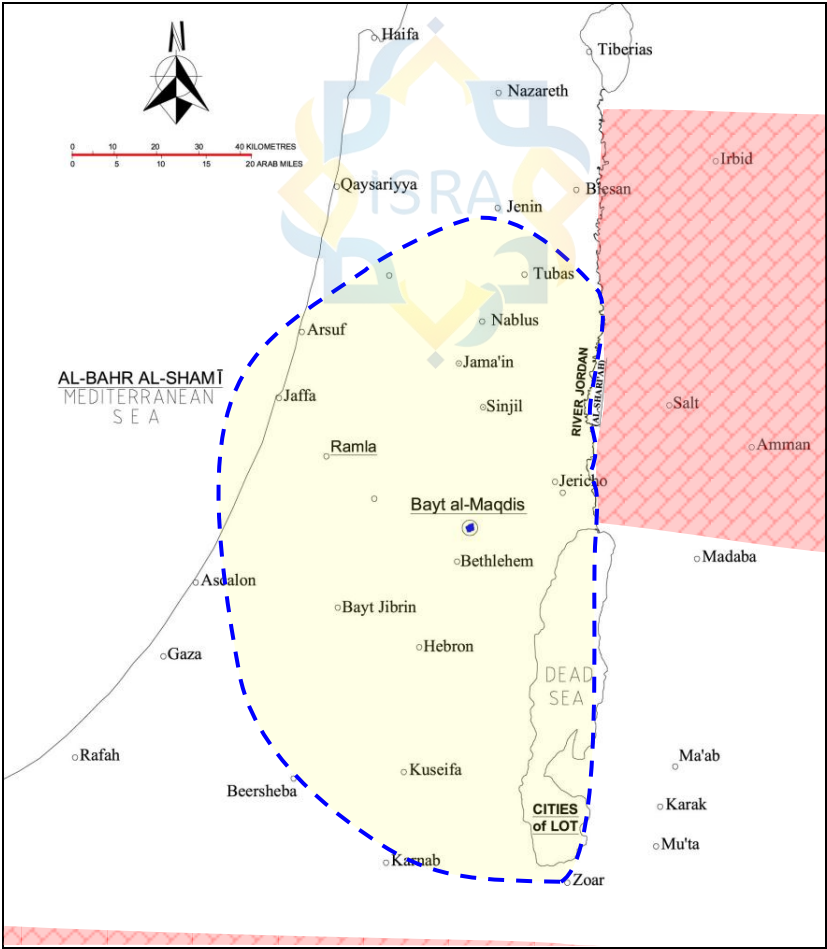
As shown above, the Land of Barakah extends to include most of al-Sham (Historical Syria) together with Sinai, parts of Egypt and parts of the Arabian Peninsula.

In chapter two, another Qur'anic terminology *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* (the Holy Land) is examined; this proved to carry similar meanings to other terms from the same etymology. It also carried meanings of Barakah, which was explained above; however, in addition it had meanings of purity and sanctity. This gave the region an additional characteristic, something the Land of Barakah did not possess. This clearly made the distinction that these regions are two different entities nevertheless sharing terrains together.

The methodology of eliminating areas not part of this region from the different sources proved effective. This led to eliminating the southern part of the Land of Barakah which was inhabited by the Israelites at the time of Prophet Moses, in addition to eliminating the area where Abū 'Ubaydah (d. 18AH/639CE) was buried east of the River Jordan. This

clearly confined the area of the Holy Land to within the region of the Land of Barakah.

This fitted perfectly with the majority of the accounts that specified extents of the Holy Land. These accounts, however, lacked details; some only gave the dimension forty by forty miles without specifying a centre or a detailed extent, which led to much confusion over the region's boundaries. However, al-Qalqashandī's account, which was the most detailed, would have been based on al-'Umarī's extent of both al-Quds al-Sharīf and the Holy Land. This account fitted perfectly with the framework of the eliminated areas and shared borders with them. It lay between the southern and eastern excluded areas, as shown in map 9.2 below.



Map 9.2: Most probable extent of the Holy Land

This understanding is further enforced by the many accounts and exegetists that equate the Holy Land with the land of Palestine, as being the same as the Land of Bayt al-Maqdis. Indeed there are many resemblances (see later).

The failure to understand the Land of Barakah and *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* as separate entities led to a mix-up of these terms, which in turn led to more confusions and misunderstanding. These confusions were not just caused by contemporary scholars, they have been in circulation for generations. Al-Ḥanbalī, for example, when giving the extent of al-Ard al-Muqadasah fails to distinguish between the two regions and gives a very detailed description of *al-Ard al-Mubarakah* as al-Sham (al-Ḥanbalī 1999, v.2: 147). This mistake is then compounded by later scholars such as al-Tumurtāshī, who quote al-Ḥanbalī as giving the extent of the Holy Land. The reason for this is the difficulty in interpreting the Qur'anic references as actual geographical regions, when there is an absence of clear sources for making such interpretation.

Moreover, it has been shown that these terms refer to different entities; the first is much larger than the latter and covers a much wider area.



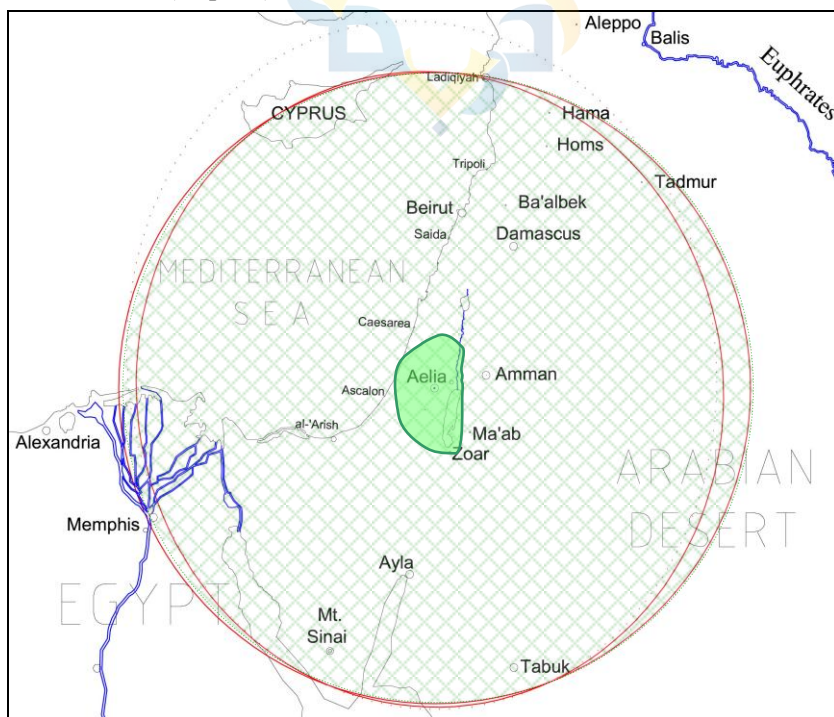
Figure 9.1: The relation between the Land of Barakah and the Holy Land

The above figure shows that the whole of the Holy Land is part of the Land of Barakah but clearly not vice-versa. Consequently, everything that is a part of the Holy Land is also part of the Land of Barakah but not everything that is in the Land of Barakah is part of the Holy Land; in

other words, the Holy Land is a subset of the Land of Barakah. This is backed clearly from a linguistic point of view in that the meaning of *Muqaddass* (Holy) includes Barakah as part of its meaning. Moreover, the meaning of *Mubārak* does not carry any meaning of Holiness. Thus *Muqaddass* is more confined while *Mubārak* is extended.

In some traditions, it is narrated that al-Sham is *Mubārak* and Palestine is *Muqaddass* (Ibn ‘Asākir 1995, v.1:140,145; al-Hindī 1998, v.12:135), confirming the argument that in the early Muslim period this was much clearer. It was also very clear in the last testimony of the companion Abū ‘Ubaydah, who while in *al-Ard al-Mubārakah*, specifically east of the River Jordan, asked to be moved and buried in *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* west of the River Jordan. Both these narrations point to the fact that the Land of Barakah and the Holy Land are different entities sharing parts. Conversely, since the extents of these regions were not clearly defined, as time passed, this led to later scholars confusing the two, and thinking of them as the same entity.

Having established the extent of these entities, it can be safely argued that the Holy Land is a small but central part of the Land of Barakah as shown below (map 9.3).



Map 9.3: Extents of Land of Barakah (outer circles) and Holy Land (in Middle)



Thus the Holy Land shares the characteristics of the Land of Barakah in addition to having its own particular qualities and features.

### **The names of Islamic Jerusalem**

The confusion extended beyond geographical extents to cover the names of Islamic Jerusalem, many of which had numerous connotations for the same name. Most names mainly referred to the city, but sometimes they also referred to the mosque and at other times to the region. This only added to the confusion of later generations looking back into history, despite the Muslim period being one of the most well-documented eras in the history of Islamic Jerusalem.

As chapters three and four have shown, the name used most frequently by Prophet Muhammad was Bayt al-Maqdis, which was used by Arabs even before Islam; however, Prophet Muhammad was also aware of the name Aelia and occasionally used it. His companions during and after his death used a mixture of both names; moreover, after they conquered the city, they used Aelia more frequently – something that did not please some such as Ka'b who is recorded as having discouraged the name's use. This movement which sought to emphasise the religious connotation of the name Bayt al-Maqdis and discouraged the use of other nonreligious terms did not succeed and the Latin-derived name Aelia became the official name used by Muslim rulers on milestones, documents and coinage. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the third Muslim century during the reign of al-Ma'mūn, another name was substituted for the official use of the name Aelia. This was al-Quds, which was one of the names that survived the longest. It was short and simple and gave religious connotations to the area, something that the other names lacked; they were either too long or bore no relation to the holiness of the place. This name is currently the most popular in the Arabic language for the city.

The development of the name did not stop there; it proceeded at the time of the Crusaders to include the term *al-Sharīf* (the noble) added to the name al-Quds, thus becoming al-Quds al-Sharīf. This was to try to elevate the status of this place while it was under occupation. However, after the Muslims reconquered the city they continued to use the name as it was later popular at the time of the Ottomans.

This shows that the use of the names was not homogeneous in any given period; a selection of other combinations of the name was also used. However, some of the names ceased to exist in some periods. This was clearly the case with the name Aelia after the introduction of the name al-Quds. Also during certain periods some names were more

popular than others, such as the name al-Quds al-Sharīf during the time of the Ottomans. The chart below shows the development of the Arabic names from before Islam till more recent times.

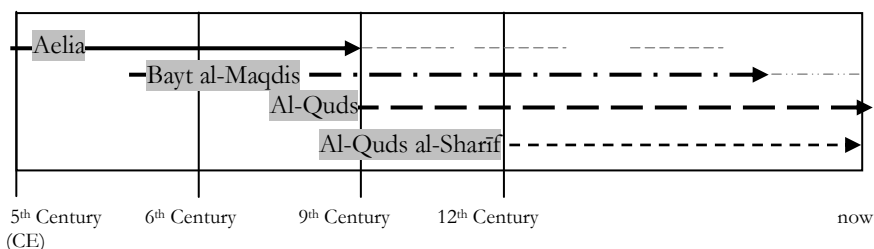


Figure 9.2: Development of the Arabic names under Muslim rule

One of the most crucial characteristics of the names was their multiple usage; most of them were used in two or three connotations. Sometimes it has been very difficult to determine what is being referred to when the context did not help; however in other cases it has been much clearer. The multiple uses of the names helped considerably in revealing the existence of this region. The region's names have thus developed side by side with those of the city, in addition to having many combinations attached such as *Arḍ* (land) and *Niḡābah* (district). Some of these referred to the administrative extent, while others referred to the set boundaries of Islamic Jerusalem.

### The region of Islamic Jerusalem

To many researchers the idea of a region for Bayt al-Maqdis has never arisen; they were puzzled when looking at accounts of previous scholars that included some areas in Bayt al-Maqdis. Some considered it to be a careless use of the terminology while others equated it with known areas or took it to be the administrative region. But when putting together the accounts –both direct and general– and over-viewing the accounts from different periods, the holistic picture emerges and a trend can easily be seen that had continued from the time of the Prophet throughout Muslim history. However, the fact that no one paid specific attention to this issue or wrote explicitly about it does not mean that it did not exist; it has certainly existed and through many generations, as was clear from the general accounts. Moreover, confusion over the subject and the use of terms, together with having no clear distinction between these boundaries and the administrative ones, only add to this muddle.

Many scholars have mentioned certain sites and locations which fall within al-Maqdisi's maximum extent of the land. Abū 'Ubaydah (d. 209AH) mentioned the southern boundary explicitly in the second

Muslim century, while others have only implied them. From these accounts and those which give other forms of information, namely topographical, together with the direct accounts a more precise picture of the extent of the boundaries of this unique region can be drawn.

Al-Maqdisī, as was shown in chapter seven, gave us the maximum extent and named certain sites. He named Ramla and twelve miles into the Mediterranean Sea to the west. To the south he named Kuseifa and to the south-east he named Zoar, Ma'āb and parts of the desert. Finally to the north he named Nablus. Al-'Umarī, also in chapter seven, took the maximum extent in the east to be the River Jordan; he also named Ramla and included parts of the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean Sea as well as Nablus. Intriguing in Umarī's accounts is the detailed topographical information, as he took the chain of mountains north and south of the city of Islamic Jerusalem and the sides as being flat or low ground. From the accounts about the extent of the wilderness we were able to take the extent on this side could be taken well beyond Kuseifa to the maximum forty miles from the city of Islamic Jerusalem. From the general accounts, in chapter eight, the borderline from the south-west, north-west and the eastern directions was located. This was in addition to verifying and strengthening the general framework by naming the many locations from other sources. However there were some accounts which were in dispute, such as Ascalon. There is only a single account specifying it, while another implicitly excludes it, in which case it has to be placed on the borderline.

Moreover, other sites which lie within the larger circle of forty miles such as Amman, Gaza, Caesarea, Beisan and Salt, some of which were part of its administrative district in some eras, cannot be included as there is no evidence that they were part of this region. However, in the case of Amman and Salt it is clear that they are *not* part of the region as there is evidence to exclude all areas east of the River Jordan and areas east and north of Mount Shiḥan. The other sites are not as clear-cut, and, since there is no evidence to include them, they will not be considered as part of the region. However, if they lie close to the frontier, they will be placed on the borderline.

These extents are clearly distinguishable from the administrative boundaries which existed in line with these boundaries – which, however, kept on changing very frequently under different reigns. Al-Maqdisī, in his account of the region, clearly referred to the administrative districts of Palestine and al-Sharāḥ. However, he did not make them influence the boundaries of the region. Al-'Umarī also talked of the administrative district in detail but gave a completely different

extent of the boundaries. The same applied to the many different accounts that referred specifically to the administrative district whether giving its extent or just mentioning the administrative terminologies. It is worth noting that there has never been a time where the extents of the boundaries of the region of IslamicJerusalem and the administrative district have been identical. There might have been some resemblance in some of the areas during certain eras but they have never been identical – or even close.

With this clear distinction from the administrative boundaries, it becomes obvious that these boundaries must have a different status. Indeed they could represent the religious extent of this region, just like the distinguishable fixed regions for Makkah and Madinah which existed alongside changing administrative districts. There are very clear similarities between these three important areas in Islam. This raises the question as to whether the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem could have a divine origin like the other two areas? In the case of Makkah the religious boundaries were set well before Prophet Muhammad, and when he had control over the city he approved those boundaries. In the case of Madinah, there were no religious boundaries before the Prophet migrated there, and he established them from scratch. In both these cases, when the Prophet had political control over them he approved or established their extent. In the case of IslamicJerusalem this is more complex as Prophet Muhammad never had control over its region, although he did make a number of references to it. Thus there seems to have existed a region for IslamicJerusalem well before Prophet Muhammad, as was also the case for Makkah. This is clearly reflected in the way consecutive Muslims referred to this region especially those who named sites or detailed some extents of its span, as well as those who detailed the extent of the region after the third Muslim century such as al-Maqdisi, followed by al-Tifashi and others. The latter clearly referred these boundaries to much earlier periods; his mention of the narrators gives an indication that these extents could be early Muslim or Prophetic. However, with no chain of narrators and no details of the source, a dilemma is created. Reference to the region was acceptable but the extent before al-Maqdisi was not recorded, except for the reference of Abū Ubaydah to the southern borderline. Thus it could be possible that this phenomenon was transmitted orally and was probably not recorded until the fourth Muslim century by al-Maqdisi, since the accounts of the later scholars indicate that they are based on early narrations though this cannot be substantiated.

The link between the sacred region of Makkah and that of IslamicJerusalem was apparent in the early Muslim centuries, in which a narration attributed to ‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Umar was in circulation. Al-Fakihi (d.~275AH/888CE) narrates in his famous book *Akhhbar Makkah* while talking about the region of the *Haram*, that the companion Ibn ‘Umar said (al-Fakihi 1998, v.2:271 & Ibn Tamim al-Maqdisi 1994:221):

الحرم محرم بمقداره من السموات والأرض، وبيت المقدس مقدس بمقداره من السموات والأرض

The Haram is sanctified to the same extent both in the skies and the earth. Similarly Bayt al-Maqdis is holy to the same extent in the skies and the earth

إن الحرم محرم في السموات، ولسع بمقداره في الأرض،<sup>1</sup> وإن بيت المقدس لمقدس في السموات السبع بمقداره في الأرض

The Haram is sanctified in the seven skies the same extent it is on earth. Similarly Bayt al-Maqdis is holy in the seven skies to the same extent it is on earth.

This clearly equates the sacred region of Makkah to the holy region of Bayt al-Maqdis, giving them divine origins as is clearly the case for the Haram of Makkah. Thus amplifying the divine sacredness of the Haram and the Holiness of Bayt al-Maqdis in a more pictorial way in the vertical dimension.<sup>2</sup> This emphasises the inviolability of the two regions and their divine nature.

From these early understandings and the very close ties between the three most revered areas in Islam, it can be concluded that the boundaries of the region of IslamicJerusalem may be considered to be the equivalent of the sacred boundaries of the *Harams* of Makkah and Madinah, but without the same restrictions and limitations within its precincts.

### Map of the region

A combination of all the evidence on the extent of the region was used to depict and show the final extent of the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem. The map below shows these boundaries as taken from the dimensions, descriptions and physical topography given by various scholars.

The author concludes this map is the closest approximation of the extents of the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem. It takes into consideration all accessible accounts of the region and its extent.

<sup>1</sup> This seems a typographical error.

<sup>2</sup> The word used for "extent" in Arabic is *Miqdar*, the etymology of which may mean extent, vicinity or value. This thus gives a spiritual dimension to a geographical place.

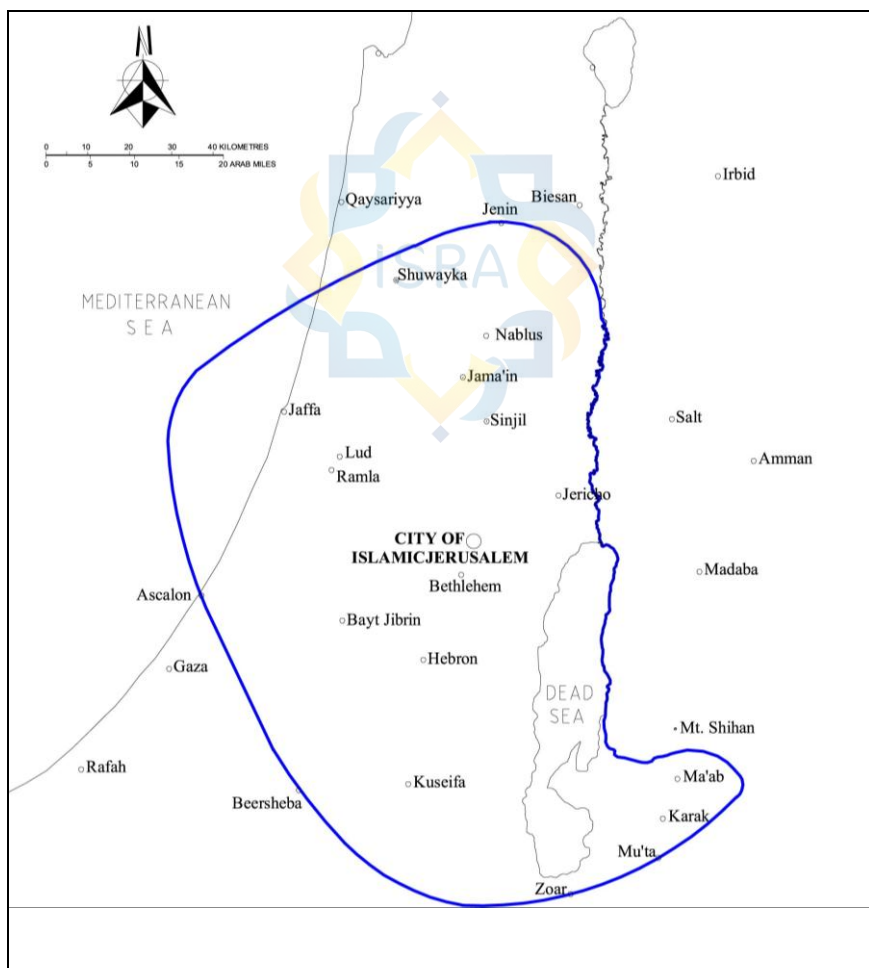
Within the map lie major sites such as the Walled City of Islamic Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Kuseifa, Ramla, Lud, Jaffa, Nablus, Jericho, Ma'ab, Karak and Zoar. It would extend in the following directions as follows:

To the **east**: the River Jordan

To the **north**: Jenin

To the **west**: 25km into the Mediterranean Sea

To the **south**: Zoar and the area parallel to it



Map 9.4: The boundaries of the region of Islamic Jerusalem

Thus it may be said that the extent of the region of IslamicJerusalem is the area around its Walled City up to a maximum of forty Arab miles (85.04km) in some directions. This includes to the west Ramla and the towns and villages around it and from the seashore twelve Arab miles (25.51km); to the north, the area beyond Nablus bordering Jenin; to the east, the River Jordan and the north eastern bank of the Dead Sea until reaching the area parallel to the *lisan*, from there on is a gradual increase to the maximum extent to the area east of Rabbah (Ma'āb). This would stay at the maximum limit in the south moving westwards to include Zoar, and the area beyond Kuseifa bordering Karnab/Dimona, Beersheba and Ascalon.

### Same or different

A crucial question that clearly arises concerns the similarities between the extent of the region of IslamicJerusalem and the extent of the Holy Land (*al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah*): could they be an identical entity? This question has puzzled the author from a very early stage, especially with the many similarities that have emerged during this research. This began with the understandings of the exegetists who equated the Holy Land with Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis – which seemed to be the personal opinion of most of them (chapter two). They also used the same dimensions of forty miles for both areas from the fourth/fifth Muslim century as those used by al-Maqdisī (1906: 173), on one side referring to al-Quds and al-Bakrī (1992: v.1 466) on the other when referring to *al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah* (Holy Land). This however had not been as well developed for the Holy Land as it had been for the region of IslamicJerusalem; there were still many confusions over the understanding for the dimensions for the Holy Land. This understanding of equating both was reinforced by al-'Umarī (1986: 208-209) a few centuries later: he linked the entities together as one.

This was in addition to the numerous accounts that have used the term the land of Bayt al-Maqdis to refer to the Holy Land, such as those quoted by Ibn Ḥazm when talking about the area from which the Israelites were barred. And the account of the Muslim commander in chief in al-Sham Abū 'Ubaydah Ibn al-Jarāh, where he asks to be buried west of the River Jordan in the Holy Land (chapter two), fits in nicely with the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem in the eastern direction. This is as well as the borderline with the wilderness; although most of the accounts use land(s) of Bayt al-Maqdis, in actual fact they seem to be referring to the area from which the Israelites were barred from entering for forty years – thus, again, the Holy Land.



Not only that, from a linguistic point of view both, al-Muqadasah and al-Maqdis come from the same root, the etymology of *Quds*, pure/holy. These nouns may very well be referring to the same area in two different forms. However, in their development one centred on the land while the other centred on the city. Thus one was al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah as specified by the Qur'an, indisputably a land. The other was Bayt al-Maqdis – later al-Quds/al-Sharīf – with numerous connotations that were the cause of much of the confusion. This led to some inserting the term land or lands before the name Bayt al-Maqdis to clarify their intent in using this name.

In the bigger picture the Land of Barakah or *al-Arḍ al-Mubārakah* is the one that includes both the region of Bayt al-Maqdis and the Holy Land. Whether they are the same entity or not, it is very likely from the evidence presented that they are identical. But it is not clear why the Muslims did not just use the Qur'anic term *al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah* or why they used other names such as *Arḍ al-Maqdis* or *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* or *Arḍ al-Quds* and many others. This is another dilemma that still needs further investigation, since if both the Land of Bayt al-Maqdis and the Holy Land are identical entities, this would make the region of Islamicjerusalem an interpretation of the Qur'an.

Mapping Islamicjerusalem is what this monograph set out to do, and this goal has been achieved by detailing the existence of a region for Islamicjerusalem from the time of the Prophet up to more recent times. This is in addition to providing a closely detailed depiction of the extent of the boundaries of this unique region, and also placing it within its larger framework "the Land of Barakah".

Having tried to compose a descriptive account of the region from the map and not being able to write a comprehensive one made the author appreciate al-Maqdisi's account which was much shorter than the one he set out to write. This difficulty in describing a precise extent of the region might have been another factor as to why there has been no precise account written. Which led, a few centuries later, to total confusion over the extent of Islamicjerusalem.

### Recommendations

The issue of the extents of the regions of Islamicjerusalem, the Holy Land and the Land of Barakah is still new in modern scholarship, and this study is but a stepping stone into this immense field. Thus the author cannot claim to have resolved and concluded all questions regarding these issues. Indeed, there may be still some information or accounts that were inaccessible during this research that would specify or



detail some other areas or new information that would enrich the course of this study. The intention, however, was to set out a detailed framework for these concepts from the available rich Islamic and Muslim literature, as well as stimulating and reviving the process of investigation in these topics, which will in turn benefit many other disciplines studying the region.

The following recommendations may be suggested, which can be divided into two categories, the first on the use of this monograph and the second on further research.

For the first category a shift in current studies on Jerusalem beyond the city and the taking of its region as a single entity is strongly recommended, rather than dividing it up into fragments and studying each of these separately. This has already been established within the new innovative field of inquiry "Islamicjerusalem studies" which has endeavoured in the last few years to divert the narrow focus on Jerusalem studies to cover a wider understanding of the region. However, this is just the start; it is hoped that this monograph, together with the new field, will have a wider impact and a greater precedent in academia and be reflected in more writing. This would surely enrich research on this topic from all aspects, since studying Islamicjerusalem as a single entity has already brought about many misunderstandings about its history, as has been proved by al-Tel (2003).

The use of the term *Islamicjerusalem* must be consistent both in English and Arabic as well as in other languages. This has been the main source of the confusion over the past centuries, namely, the multiple connotations of the names for the area. Use of the name must be consistent and be accessible to the public. Thus the recommendations made here for the use of the name rotate around what is popular amongst people and the author suggests building on that. Should a complete change to what people are used to be introduced, this would surely not survive unless it were backed completely by powers over the region. This would formalise the name in the public sector, as was the case with the name al-Quds at the time of al-Ma'mūn. This name, however, was not as popular outside the region and earlier names were used. Taking all these points into consideration, the use of the following names is recommend for the listed connotations:

In Arabic:

City: **al-Quds**  
 Region: **Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis**

In English:

City: **Jerusalem**  
 Region: **Islamicjerusalem**

The issue is much more complex than this, but with consistent use of the terms, with time this would be accepted and could be developed further to reflect the real essence of the name. Keeping the popular names for the city in both Arabic and English and not changing them is recommended, because both have their roots in history and it would be difficult to change or make additions to them. They fit the criteria of long-surviving names, short and easy to pronounce. As for the region, this would be a completely new phenomenon to most people so the name must be simple and short. However, it is much more complex in this case for the region. In Arabic it could be argued that the term Bayt al-Maqdis or al-Quds could be used to refer to the region; however, with the multiple connotations of both names this would be impossible to achieve and would give rise to yet more confusion. Nonetheless, the best option would be to have an addition to the name referring to the region, as was achieved historically by adding the terms *Arḍ*, *Aradī*, *Bilād* amongst others. Since *Arḍ* was the earliest addition to the name, it would probably be the most appropriate. It could be possible to develop this to become *Arḍ al-Maqdis*.

In English, reference to the region is much trickier as there is no equivalent to *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*. It may be translated as the "region of Bayt al-Maqdis", the "region of Jerusalem" or the "region of Islamicjerusalem". The term *Islamicjerusalem* on its own is recommended as it is the niche of the new field of inquiry, and the perception of the name to people who are aware of this field is clear. There are still many problematic issues with this term, but this is perhaps the best option for now. The name unintentionally gives connotations of Muslim Jerusalem within the Walled City; however, if perceptions of this name are altered in the next few years on a wider scale it must be kept, otherwise other alternatives will have to be sought. This could be the trigger for more research and, if it is found beyond doubt that both the region of *Islamicjerusalem* and the Holy Land are identical entities, then the term Holy Land or Land of Holiness may be used. However, even this term has different connotations and refers mainly to the Christian extent of the Holy Land (every area in which the Prophet Jesus lived), which differs considerably from Muslim and Islamic understanding.

As far as other languages are concerned it would be best to keep the current name for the city and try to find another term to refer to the region. If there is no other possible term, then the addition of the term "region" before the name of the city could act as an alternative.

As for translating the names from Arabic into English, this is not always possible. The context must always be investigated and the most accurate term used. As has been seen, a single term can have several connotations, such as Bayt al-Maqdis for al-Aqsa Mosque, city and region.

On another note, it may be asked, what is the political implication of these boundaries with the current political climate? It must be clear that this book is not intended as a basis for a new administrative or political division; this has never been the case in any of the previous historical eras. The division is solely religious and spiritual, not administrative or political. However, the work can have modern juristic implications on many of the rulings such as those of burial, Ihram (setting of pilgrimage), and other issues, many of which specifically regarding the Walled City and al-Aqsa Mosque have been recently addressed by Ra'id Jabareen (2006).

### **Recommendations for further research**

As for the second category of further research, there are many issues and topics that still need additional investigation due to the limitations of this particular research. Some of these could be covered by short papers, while others would need a whole thesis. Such topics and issues are as follows:

- A review of the history of IslamicJerusalem and the classical Muslim sources with the wider understanding of the region.
- Further survey of sources for more accounts on IslamicJerusalem and its extent.
- Relationship between the extent of the region of IslamicJerusalem and that of the Holy Land.
- A comparative study of the religious geographical regions of Makkah, Madinah and IslamicJerusalem and their geographical span.
- A comparative study between the Jewish, Christian and Muslim understandings of the extent of the Holy Land.
- Special juristic rules for the region of IslamicJerusalem.
- Detailed study of the usage of the names of IslamicJerusalem within different eras (throughout Muslim history).

- A study of the time of revelation of Qur'anic verses related to IslamicJerusalem.
- A comprehensive study of the timings of prophetic narrations relating to IslamicJerusalem.
- A study of the names of IslamicJerusalem used in weak and fabricated narrations and the timing of the alterations.
- A study of the names of IslamicJerusalem in inscriptions and original historical documents.
- A study into the Jerusalemite titles, and the geographical span they cover.
- Detailed investigation of the administrative extents of the district of IslamicJerusalem in different eras (throughout Muslim history and times prior to this).
- Strategy for developing the names of IslamicJerusalem in English and Arabic.
- Translation of the concept of the region into languages other than/as well as English and Arabic.

These are some of the topics that have been thought of as this research was nearing its completion. However many more issues and topics would be generated once these topics are investigated.

## APPENDICES





# APPENDIX 1:

## Text quotations

1.1

### Khisroo, 1983:

وفي الخامس من رمضان سنة 438 16 مارس 1047 بلغنا بيت المقدس ... وأهل الشام وأطرافها يسمون بيت المقدس القدس ويذهب إلى القدس في موسم الحج من لا يستطيع الذهاب إلى مكة.... كذلك يأتي لزيارة بيت المقدس من ديار الروم كثير من النصارى واليهود ... وسواد ورساتيق بيت المقدس جبلية كلها والزراعة وأشجار الزيتون والتين وغيرها تنبت كلها بغير ماء والخيرات بها كثيرة ... والآن أصف مدينة بيت المقدس.... وصف بيت المقدس. هي مدينة مشيدة على قمة الجبل ليس بها ماء غير الأمطار ورساتيقها ذات عيون والمدينة محاطة بسور حصين من الحجر.... وفي بيت المقدس مستشفى عظيم

.....

55-7: On the fifth of Ramadan 438; sixteenth of March 1047 we reached Bayt al-Maqdis... The people of al-Sham name Bayt al-Maqdis al-Quds, and people who cannot go to Hajj in Makkah come to al-Quds instead... Also from the lands of the Romans many Christians and Jews come to visit Bayt al-Maqdis... The *Samad* and *Rasatig* of Bayt al-Maqdis are all mountainous, the trees of olives and figs and other plantation grow without the need for irrigation and goods are in abundance.... Now I will describe *Madinat* Bayt al-Maqdis... The Description of Bayt al-Maqdis. It is a walled city on top of a mountain, it has no water except for rain, its *Rasatig* has many springs, the city itself is encircled with a fortified wall from stone.... And Bayt al-Maqdis houses a great hospital...

1.2

### Al-Maqdisi 1906,

كقولنا من الرملة إلى إيليا أو إلى عسقلان

106: As saying from Ramla to Aelia or to Ascalon

وإيليا الفاضلة بلا لأوى.

151: .... Aelia the honoured is without ...

وماء نابلس خشن، وفي ماء دمشق وإيليا أدنى خشونة، وفي الهواء أدنى ييوسة

184: the water of Nablus is heavy, as for the water of Damascus and Aelia less harsh

ومن العجائب بإيليا مغارة بظاهر البلد عظيمة

185: and one of the wonders of Aelia, there is a great cave in the outskirts of the city

إلى حقيقة القدس وهي إيليا وإنما هي في الجبال لا إلى التبع من السهول والأغوار

187: The essence of al-Quds, which is Aelia which is in the mountains and is not the plains or valleys

1.3

### Al-Maqdisi 1906,

وبيت كرما قرية بإيليا

28: Bayt Karma is a village in Aelia

بيت عينون قرية بايليا

29: Bayt ‘Aynūn is a village in Aelia

حران: مدينة نزيهة وعليها حصن من حجارة على عمل إيليا في حسن البناء

141: Harran: is a city and its stones come from the province of Aelia...

ولباس القرىيتين برستاق ايليا

183: The clothing of the two villages are from *Rustaq Aelia*

#### 1.4

#### **Ibn Shaddād 2000.**

وشرع رحمه الله في قضاء تلك الفوائت بالقدس الشريف في السنة التي توفي فيها...

6: And he started (may God have mercy on him) to fulfil those missed days [of fasting] in *al-Quds al-Sharif* the year he passed away ...

بيت نوبة وهو موضع قريب من القدس الشريف حرسها الله تعالى

7: *Bayt Nuba* is a place close to *al-Quds al-Sharif* may God the exalted protect it

وذلك أي كنت يوماً في مجلس الحكم بالقدس الشريف...

9: I was sitting one day in the governmental court of *al-Quds al-Sharif* ...

ويحظى بصلاة العيد في القدس الشريف حرسه الله تعالى

14: And to be blessed by attaining the Eid prayer in *al-Quds al-Sharif* may God the exalted protect it

ذكر فتوح القدس الشريف حرسها الله تعالى

52: Account of the conquests of *al-Quds al-Sharif* may God the exalted protect it

ثم رحل إلى جهة القدس الشريف ورحل الإفرنج إلى جهة بلادهم واشتد الشتاء واعظمت الأمطار وسار

السلطان إلى القدس الشريف

162: Then he set out towards *al-Quds al-Sharif* and the Franks set out towards their land, and the winter became harsh with very heavy rain and the Sultan headed to *al-Quds al-Sharif*

ذكر تعبئة العدو لقصد القدس الشريف... قصدوا القدس الشريف حرسه الله تعالى

168-9: The disposition of the enemy to march on *al-Quds al-Sharif* ... They would march on *al-Quds al-Sharif* may God the exalted protect it (Ibid:)

ويعود إلى القدس الشريف سائراً إلى الديار المصرية يتفقد أحوالها ويقرر قواعدها وينظر في مصالحها وأمرني

بالمقام في القدس الشريف لعمارة يمارستان أنشأه فيه وإدارة المدرسة التي أنشأها فيه

196: He used to return to *al-Quds al-Sharif* on his way to the land of Egypt to examine its affairs, establish its bases and to consider its needs. He (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) commanded me to stay in *al-Quds al-Sharif* to construct the Hospital which he founded in it as well as administering the school which he established there

#### 1.5

#### **Ibn Khilikān nd:**

إنه توفي يوم الاحد ... بالقدس الشريف، ودفن في داره بعد أن صلي عليه بالمسجد الأقصى.

55: He died on Sunday ... in *al-Quds al-Sharif* and was buried in his house after they prayed on him in *al-Aqsa Mosque*



توفي أبو مضر زيادة الله بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن الأغلب بالرقعة، وحمل تابوته إلى القدس الشريف، ودفن بها  
**197:** Abu Muḍār Ziyadat Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-Aḡlab died in Al-Riqāh and his coffin was carried to *al-Quds al-Sharīf* and he was buried in it

ولما فتح السلطان القدس الشريف تناول إلى الخطابة يوم الجمعة كل واحد من العلماء الذين كانوا في خدمته حاضرين،

**565:** and when the Sultan conquered *al-Quds al-Sharīf*, there was a contest between all the Scholars present in his service to deliver the Friday Sermon

ثم ولده قضاء العسكر والحكم بالقدس الشريف

**1022:** Then he was appointed as the Judge of the army and to rule in *al-Quds al-Sharīf*

## 1.6

### Ibn Shaddād 1962:

ثم ولي تدريسها بعده مجد الدين طاهر بن نصر الله بن جهيل ولم يزل مدرّساً بها إلى أن نُقل إلى القدس الشريف وتوفي بها في سنة سبع وتسعين وخمسمائة

**34:** And then took over teaching in it Majd al-Dīn Ṭāhir Ibn Nasr Allah Ibn Jahbal and stayed teaching in it until he was transferred to *al-Quds al-Sharīf* where he died in the year 597

وعند ذلك أدخل الفرنج -خذهم الله- القدس الشريف من سكانه

**102:** And then the Franks (may God degrade them) emptied *al-Quds al-Sharīf* of its inhabitants

زيارات جند فلسطين: القدس الشريف به الصخرة

**111:** The *Ziyārāt* of the *Jund* of Palestine: *al-Quds al-Sharīf* and in it is the Rock

وبالرملة: قبر عبادة بن الصامت ، والصحيح أنه بالقدس الشريف.

**112:** In Ramla is the grave of ‘Ubadah Ibn al-Ṣāmit, but the truth is that it is in *al-Quds al-Sharīf*

خرجت منها قاصدا الملك الناصر فوافيته عائدا من القدس الشريف ومعه العساكر

**190:** And I left it heading for *al-Malik al-Nāsir* and I caught up with him, on his way back from *al-Quds al-Sharīf* with his army

## 1.7

### Al-Youninī nd:

وانتقل إلى القدس الشريف وأقام به مدة

**12:** And he relocated to *al-Quds al-Sharīf* and he resided in it for some time

وأثمهم قصدوا القدس الشريف

**19:** And they advanced to *al-Quds al-Sharīf*

... أمر الملك الظاهر بإنشاء خان بالقدس الشريف لابن السبيل... تم وأوقف عليه ... نصف قرية لفيّا من أعمال القدس

**246:** The King *al-Zahir* ordered the construction of an Inn in *al-Quds al-Sharīf* for the Wayfarer ... and he endowed it... with half of the village of Lifiya from A‘māl al-Quds

كان قد خرج من بلاده قاصداً زيارة القدس الشريف في زي الرهبان

**353:** He left his lands heading to visit *al-Quds al-Sharif* in the clothing of priests

وجدد بالقدس الشريف ما كان قد تداعى من قبة الصخرة وجدد فيها السلسلة وزخرفها وأنشأ خاناً للسبيل.

**440:** And he renovated in *al-Quds al-Sharif* what needed renovation from the Dome of the Rock and he renovated and decorated in it the Dome of Chain and he established an Inn for visitors

وتوفى الظاهر شاذى ... بقرية الناعمة من الغور، وحمل إلى القدس الشريف، فدفن بعد الصلاة عليه بالأقصى

**569:** Al-Zahir Shadhī died... in the village of al-Na'mah in the Ghor, and he was carried to *al-Quds al-Sharif* where he was buried after they prayed on him in al-Aqsa

## 1.8

### Al-Nuwayrī nd:

ووصل السلطان إلى القدس الشريف في يوم الجمعة فزار تلك الأماكن الشريفة

**3704:** And the Sultan arrived at *al-Quds al-Sharif* on Friday and he visited the noble places ...

خرج من بلاده، لزيارة القدس الشريف، ويعود خفية، .... فلما وصل إلى القدس الشريف، أمسك هو وترجمانه،

**3829:** And he left his home to visit *al-Quds al-Sharif* and come back discreetly, ... When he arrived to *Quds al-Sharif*, he was caught with his translator

توفي الملك الأوحى نجم الدين .... بالقدس الشريف، ودفن من الغد برباطه عند باب خطه شمالي الحرم،

**3910:** The unique King Najm al-Dīn died ... in *al-Quds al-Sharif* and he was buried in his Ribāṭ close to the Hita Gate North of the Enclave

## 1.9

### Al-Balawī nd:

سنة سبع وثلاثين وسبعمائة بحرم القدس الشريف....

**58:** In the year 737 in the sanctuary of *al-Quds al-Sharif* ...

فوصلنا إلى مدينة القدس الشريف في صبيحة يوم السبت ... وأقمنا بالقدس الشريف...

: And we reached *Madinat* (the city of) *al-Quds al-Sharif* on Saturday morning .... And we stayed in *al-Quds al-Sharif*...

وكان خروجنا من القدس الشريف في عشى يوم الجمعة

**87:** And we left *al-Quds al-Sharif* on Friday evening

أنشدني بالقدس الشريف عند محراب سيدنا زكرياء النبي عليه السلام

**143:** He recited for me in *al-Quds al-Sharif*, next to the *Mihrab* of Prophet Zachariah (PBUH)

بما أنشدني لنفسه بحرم القدس الشريف

**143:** And what he recited for me for himself in the sanctuary of *al-Quds al-Sharif*

1.10 **Al-Dhahabī nd**

سقمان...: ولي هو وأخوه إيل غازي إمرة القدس الشريف بعد أبيهما،

**3495:** Saqman... was governing *al-Quds al-Sharif* with his brother Iel Ghazi after their father

وقال مجد الدين محمد بن عبد الله قاضي الطور: مررث على القدس الشريف مسلماً...

**4408:** Majd al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn ‘Abd Allah the judge of al-Tur said: I passed by *al-Quds al-Sharif* greeting it...

In another of his books *al-Ibar fi Khabar man Ghabar* he states:

**Al-Dhahabī nd2:**

ثم أخرج إلى القدس الشريف فأقام أياماً

**326:** Then he was sent out to *al-Quds al-Sharif* and stayed in it for a few days

1.11 **Al-Safadī nd:**

أيد غدي...ناظر أوقاف القدس الشريف والخليل.... وتوفي بالقدس الشريف، سنة ثلاث وتسعين وستمائة

**44:** Ayd Ghadī ... the *Nāẓir* of the endowments of *al-Quds al-Sharif* and *al-Khalil* [Hebron] ... He died in *al-Quds al-Sharif* in the year 693 (AH)

**Al-Safadī nd2:**

أن يكون في كل سنة ناظر القمامة بالقدس الشريف أيام زيارة النصارى

**136:** To be every year the *Nāẓir* of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in al-Quds al-Sharif during the Christian pilgrimage times

وجدد بالقدس الشريف ما كان تداعي من قبة الصخرة، وجدد قبة السلسلة وزخرفها، وأنشأ خاناً للسبيل.

**1443:** And he renovated in *al-Quds al-Sharif* what needed renovation from the Dome of the Rock and he renovated and decorated the Dome of Chain and he established an Inn for visitors

وكتبت له عدة توافيق بتدريس المدرسة الصلاحية بالقدس الشريف

**1894:** And I wrote him many references to teach in al-Salahiyah School in al-Quds al-Sharif

ثم إنه باشر التدريس بالقدس الشريف بالمدرسة الجراحية والمواعيد بالصخرة الشريفة

**3060:** Then he started to teach in al-Quds al-Sharif at al-Jirahiyah School as well as the [Dome of] Rock *al-Sharifah*

1.12 **Al-Salimī nd:**

توفي الصدر شرف الدين أحمد ابن الشيخ سعد الدين سعد الله بن مروان ابن عبد الله الفارقي بالقدس الشريف وصلي عليه بعد صلاة الصبح ودفن بمقبرة ماملأ.

**3:** Al-Sadr Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad [...] al-Fariqī died in al-Quds al-Sharif and the funeral prayer was done after the dawn prayer and he was buried in Mamillah Cemetery

توفي أبو محمد عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن أحمد بن عبد الرحمن بن علي البجدي الصالح برباط كرد بالقدس

الشريف ودفن من الغد بمقبرة ماملا .... وانتقل إلى القدس الشريف فأقام به إلى أن مات.

10: Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān [...] al-Ṣāliḥī died in Ribāṭ al-Kurd in al-Quds al-Sharīf and he was buried the next day in Mamillah Cemetery... He moved to al-Quds al-Sharīf and resided in it until his death.

توفي الخطيب زين الدين أبو محمد عبد الرحيم ابن قاضي القضاة بدر الدين أبي عبد الله محمد بن إبراهيم بن سعد الله بن جماعة الكناي الشافعي خطيب المسجد. مات بالقدس الشريف ودفن بمقبرة ماملاً ... وكان اشتغل بالعلم وتولى خطابة القدس الشريف وكان لا يخرج من بيته إلا للصلاة ومولده في المحرم سنة تسعين وست مئة بالقدس الشريف...

17: The *Khaṭīb* Zayn al-Dīn Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm...al-Kinani al-Shafī'ī the preacher of the Mosque died in al-Quds al-Sharīf and was buried in Mamillah cemetery ... he was engaged in knowledge and was appointed as the *Khaṭīb* of al-Quds al-Sharīf and he never left his house except for the prayers. His birth was on *Muharam* 690 [AH] in al-Quds al-Sharīf...

ابن الوحيد قاضي الرملة بها ودفن هناك. ... تولى قضاء القدس الشريف ثم انتقل إلى الرملة.... وفي صبيحة يوم الثلاثاء التاسع عشر منه توفي وكيل بيت المال ... بالقدس الشريف ودفن بمقبرة ماملاً.

45: Ibn al-Wahid, the Judge of Ramla he died and was buried in it...he was the judge of al-Quds al-Sharīf before he moved to Ramla.... And in the morning of Tuesday the nineteenth died the custodian of the treasury ... in al-Quds al-Sharīf and was buried in Mamillah cemetery.

توفي الشيخ علاء الدين علي بن منصور الحنفي بالقدس الشريف وكان مدرساً هناك.

53: *Shaikh* 'Ala' al-Dīn Ali Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Ḥanafī died in al-Quds al-Sharīf and he was a teacher there

توفي الإمام العالم العابد عز الدين أبو حفص عمر بن أحمد بن محمد المقدسي الشافعي بدمشق ... وتفتقه وأعاد بالقدس الشريف ودرس و أفق وكان خيراً كثير النفع للطلبة له حلقة بالقدس

94: The pious and knowledgeable Imam 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Hafs 'Umar Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad al-Maqdisī died in Damascus...He learnt and taught in al-Quds al-Sharīf and he gave *Fatwas* and was very useful for students and he had a study circle in al-Quds

وتولى قضاء القدس الشريف

94: He was appointed as the Judge of al-Quds al-Sharīf

### 1.13

#### Ibn Batūta nd:

ذكر بعض المشاهد المباركة بالقدس الشريف

25: Mentioning some of the blessed sites in *al-Quds al-Sharīf*

سافرت من القدس الشريف برسم زيارة ثغر عسقلان

25: I travelled from *al-Quds al-Sharīf* on the permission to visit Ascalan

وأخوه حسام الدين هو شيخ القدس الشريف

27: And his brother Hussam al-Dīn is the *Shaikh* of *al-Quds al-Sharīf*

### 1.14

#### Al-Qalqashandī 1987,

نائب القدس الشريف. وهو ممن استحدثت نيابته في الدولة الأشرفية

v.7:186: *Na'ib al-Quds al-Sharīf*, this post was initiated in the Ashrafiyah reign

...وهي بظاهر القدس الشريف، واتخذت مسجداً

v.8:28: And it is on the outskirts of *al-Quds al-Sharif* and it was converted into a mosque

...عن السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف بن أيوب، بفتح القدس الشريف

v.8:284: From the Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb about the conquest of al-Quds al-Sharīf

أن ينقل فلان من كذا إلى ولاية القدس الشريف

v.12:327: That 'so and so' is to move from "so and so" to *Wilāyat al-Quds al-Sharīf*

ومملكة بلاد الخليل صلوات الله عليه وسلامه ومملكة القدس الشريف وأعمالها،

v.14:58: And the kingdom of the land of *al-Khalil* (PBUH) and the kingdom of al-Quds al-Sharīf and its territories

### 1.15 al-‘Aynī nd:

ورحل وتوجه إلى القدس الشريف، وزار ورسم بعمارة المسجد الأقصى، ... ولما خرج السلطان من القدس الشريف، سار نحو الكرك

92: And he proceeded and headed off to al-Quds al-Sharīf and he visited and ordered the renovation of al-Aqsa Mosque ... and when the sultan left al-Quds al-Sharīf he headed towards al-Karak

أنه عمر بالقدس الشريف خاناً، ووقف عليه أوقافاً...

122: and he established in al-Quds al-Sharīf an Inn and he made many endowments on it ...

ملك الكرج حضر مختفياً لزيارة القدس الشريف

137: The king of the *Karaj* came discreetly to visit al-Quds al-Sharīf

الزهرى. خطيب القدس الشريف أربعين سنة

203: Al-Zahrī was the *Khaṭīb* of al-Quds al-Sharīf for forty years

وانتهت غاراتهم إلى القدس الشريف والخليل

361: and their raids reached al-Quds al-Sharīf and al-Khalīl

القمامة التي بالقدس الشريف كان في وسطها قنديل كبير

431: The *Qumamah* [Holy Sepulchre] in al-Quds al-Sharīf had in its centre a large chandler

يسألون فيها أن تعاد إليهم كنيسة معروفة بهم بالقدس الشريف تسمى المصلبة

465: They were asking that a known church for them in al-Quds al-Sharīf be returned known as Al-Musalabah

### 1.16 Ibn Tūlūn nd

ورد خبر من القدس الشريف أن جماعة من نصارى الحبش، نحو ثلاثة آلاف نفس، دخلوا القدس لزيارة القيامة

16: The news came from *al-Quds al-Sharīf* that a group of Christian *Ḥabash*, around three thousand, entered al-Quds to visit the Holy Sepulchre ...

وفيه ورد الخبر بأن السلطان رسم بنفي قانصوه اليعياوي إلى القدس الشريف، فقرأ عليه المرسوم في الطريق، وهو في خدمة الأمير أزيك، ثم رفع إلى القدس الشريف

21: The news came that the Sultan ordered the exile of Qanush al-Yahyawī to *al-Quds al-Sharīf*, the decree was passed to him on the road, while he was in the service of Prince Azbak, then he was taken to *al-Quds al-Sharīf* ...

خرج من دمشق جماعة من العصاة، الذين قاموا مع النائب من حلب، منفيين إلى القدس الشريف،

97: A group of outlaws who supported the *Na'ib* of Aleppo left Damascus expelled to *al-Quds al-Sharīf*

### 1.17 Al-Hamawī nd.

الشويكة: ... قرية بنواحي القدس

v.3:424: *al-Shumaikeh*: .... A village in the area of al-Quds

شَيْخَانُ: ... جبل مشرف على جميع الجبال التي حول القدس وهو الذي أشرف منه موسى عليه السلام فنظر إلى بيت المقدس فاحتقره وقال: يارب هذا قدسك فتؤدي إنك لن تدخله أبداً فمات عليه السلام ولم يدخله.

v.3:430: *Shiḥan*: ... a mountain that overlooks all the mountains around al-Quds, and it is the mountain that Moses (PBUH) looked out on Bayt al-Maqdis from and he showed contempt of it and said: O Lord is this your Quds, so he was told that he will never enter it, so he (PBUH) died without entering it

صغير: ... وهي قرية بنواحي القدس ذكرت في التوراة.

v.3:498: *Sa'ir*: ... and it is a village in the area of al-Quds mentioned in the Torah

العُروب: ... اسم قريتين بناحية القدس فيهما عيتان عظيمتان وبركتان ويساتين نزهة.

v.4:126: *Al-'Aroub*: ... a name of two villages in an area of al-Quds

نابلس: ... لها كورة واسعة وعمل جليل كله في الجبل الذي فيه القدس

v.5:288: *Nablus*: ... Has a large *Kuwra* (province) and a large *'Amal* (large outlying district), all of which is in the mountain of al-Quds

### 1.18 Ibn Shaddād 2000:

وكان تسلمه القدس قدس الله روحه في يوم الجمعة

53: He [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] (may God purify his soul) received the surrender of al-Quds on Friday

واخذ في إفساد المياه بظاهر القدس وتخريب الصهاريج والجباب بحيث لم يبق حول القدس ماء يشرب أصلاً، وأظن في ذلك إطناباً عظيماً، وأرض القدس لا يطمع في حفر بئر بها فيها ماء معين لأنها جبل عظيم وحجر صلب،

172: And he started spoiling the water sources and destroying the pits and cisterns so that no drinking water is available around al-Quds at all, and he was extremely thorough in this. In the land of al-Quds there is no hope of a well being dug with clean water, since it is all part of a massive mountain of solid rock

### 1.19 Ibn al-Bitār nd:

بلان..... وأغصانه يتخذ منها المكناس للطرق ببلاد القدس ونواحيه وهو بأرضهم كثير جداً

**112:** *Bulan*....and its branches are taken and made into brushes for the roads in *Bilād al-Quds* and its surroundings, and it is plentiful in their land

دهن الزقوم الشامي... كما يستخرج بغور رخا من بلد القدس

**293:** The ointment of the *Shamī Zaqum*...as it is extracted in the Ghor of Jericho from *balad al-Quds*

## 1.20 al-Younini nd:

وأبقى عليه قطعة كثيرة من الشام منها الكرك وعجلون والصلت ونابلس والخليل وأعمال القدس لأن القدس كان سلم إلى الأبرور قبل ذلك سوى عشر قرى على الطريق من عكا إلى القدس فإنها سلمت إلى الفرنج مع مدينة القدس

**48:** And he kept a large part of al-Sham from that al-Karak, Ajloun, al-Salt, Nablus, al-Khalil and the province of al-Quds, since al-Quds was handed before that to al-Anbrour except for ten villages on the route from Acre to al-Quds which were handed over to the Franks together with al-Quds

وكان الملك الكامل سلم القدس إلى الفرنج سنة ست وعشرين على أن يكون الحرم الشريف بما فيه من المزارات للمسلمين وكذا جميع أعمال القدس ما خلا عشر ضياع على طريق الفرنج من عكا إلى القدس وشرط أن يكون القدس خراباً ولا يجدد فيه عمارة البتة

**55:** And the king al-Kamil had handed al-Quds over to the Franks in the year [six hundred and] twenty six, on the condition that the Noble Sanctuary with all its visiting sites stay with the Muslims. As well as the whole of *A'māl al-Quds* except for ten villages on the Frankish route from Acre to al-Quds. He also put in a clause that al-Quds stays ruined and no building must be renovated at all

## 1.22 al-Nuwayri nd:

ولما وصل العادل والأفضل إلى القدس سلماه وأعماله وما يجاوره من أعمال الساحل لأبي الهيجاء السمين...

**3548:** And when al-'Adil and al-Afdal reached *al-Quds* they handed it over with its *A'māl* and what is around it from the coastal provinces to Abū al-Hayja' al-Samin...

وكتب الملك المعظم إلى الخليفة كتاباً...

لا تغفلن، فأرض القدس بغداد

إن الفرنج بأرض القدس قد نزلت

**3569:** And the King al-Mu'adham wrote to the Caliph a letter...

The Franks have come to

Don't be negligent, Since *Arḍ al-*

*Arḍ al-Quds*

*Quds* is [the same as] Baghdad

وإنه أعطاه الكرك وعجلون ونابلس وبلاد القدس.

**3588:** And he gave him al-Karak, Ajloun, Nablus and *Bilād al-Quds*...

ولما تسلم الملك الصالح صرخدا، عاد إلى الديار المصرية ودخل إلى القدس. وتصدق فيه بألفي دينار عبثاً. وأمر بعمارة سور القدس فذرع، فكان ستة آلاف ذراع بالهاشي، فرسم أن يصرف مغل بلاد القدس عليه...

**3636:** And when the King Sarkhad was handed over he returned to the land

of Egypt and then he entered al-Quds, and he donated two thousand *Dinars* publicly, and he ordered the renovation of the walls of al-Quds and it was measured and it came up to six thousand *Hashimi* Cubits, so he decreed that all the revenue of ***Bilād al-Quds*** must be spent on it...

### 1.23 al-Fayrūzabādī 1991,

كالشَّيْحَان، ... جَبَلٌ عالٍ حَوْلِي الْقُدْسِ.

v.1: 469: Like al-Shiḥan .... A high mountain around al-Quds

وخيْرَانُ: [قرية] بالْقُدْسِ

v.2: 38: Khayran: (a village) in al-Quds

والدُّورَةُ، بِمَاءٍ: [قرية] بَيْنَ الْقُدْسِ وَالْحَلِيلِ، مِنْهَا بَنُو الدُّورِيِّ قَوْمٌ بِمِصْرَ.

v.2: 47: Ad-Dorah is (a village) with an open area between al-Quds and al-Khalīl, from it are *Banu ad-Dor*, a group in Egypt

الغُورُ: ... [مَوْضِعٌ] مُنْخَفِضٌ بَيْنَ الْقُدْسِ وَخُورَانَ مَسِيرَةَ ثَلَاثَةِ أَيَّامٍ فِي عَرْضٍ قَرْسَخَيْنِ،

v.2: 149: The Ghor:... (a location) very low between al-Quds and Huran, it is the distance of three days in length by two parasangs in width

بُرْطَاسٌ .... [قرية] بالْقُدْسِ

v.2: 290: Burtas... (a village) in al-Quds

وَالسَّيْعُ: ... [مَوْضِعٌ] عِزُّ الْقُدْسِ وَالْكَرْكِ

v.3: 50: Al-Saba'... a site between al-Quds and al-Karak

تَقُوعٌ ... [قرية] بالْقُدْسِ يُنْسَبُ إِلَيْهَا الْعَسَلُ.

v.3: 109: Taqu' .... (a village) in al-Quds

وَجَمَاعِيلُ ... [قرية] بالْقُدْسِ.

v.3: 516: Jama'il .... (a village) in al-Quds

وَيَاقِينُ: [قرية] بالْقُدْسِ

v.4: 395: Yaqin: (a village) in al-Quds

### 1.24 Al-Qalqashandī 1987,

عمل القدس. والقدس بضم القاف و الدال لفظ غلب على مدينة بيت المقدس

v.4:104: 'Amal al-Quds: and al-Qudus (with a *dama* on the *Qaf* and *Dal*) is the common name for the city of Bayt al-Maqdis

نيابة القدس - وقد تقدم أنها كانت في الزمن المتقدم ولاية صغيرة وأن النيابة استحدثت فيها في سنة سبع وسبعين وسبعمئة، وتبايتها إمرة طبلخاناه، وقد جرت العادة أن يضاف إليها نظر القدس ومقام الخليل عليه السلام... وبها من الوظائف غير النيابة ولاية قلعة القدس، وواليها جندي وكذلك ولاية المدينة، وكانت توليتها أولاً من جهة نائب السلطنة بدمشق، ثم أخبرني بعض أهل المملكة الشامية أن ولاية والي القلعة وولاية البلد صارتا إلى نائب القدس من حين استقر نيابة، وكذلك ولاية بلد الخليل عليه السلام.

v.4:205-6: *Niyābat al-Quds* (Lieutenancy) – it was mentioned earlier that it used to be a small *Wilāyah* (province), and it became a *Niyābah* in the year 777 [AH], –and its under a Ṭablakhanah–, and it became the norm that the *Nāẓir* [administration] of **al-Quds** and the Tomb of Al-Khalīl (PBUH)... In it from the posts other than the governing of the *Niyābah*, the administration of *al-Quds* Citadel and it was controlled by an Army Officer. In addition to the administration of the city, which was run first the



governor of the Sultanate from Damascus, I was later told by the inhabitants of the Shamī Kingdom that the administration of both the city and the citadel were handed over to the governor of **al-Quds** after he settled in. In addition to the administration of the city of al-Khalīl (PBUH) والنصرانية في الأصل منسوبة إلى الناصرة، وهي القرية التي نزلها المسيح وأمه عليهما السلام من بلاد القدس عند عودهما إلى مصر،

**v.6:93:** *Al-Nasranīyah* [Christianity] was originally named after al-Nāsirah [Nazareth], which is the town that Christ and his mother (PBUH) inhabited from **Bilād al-Quds** when they came back from Egypt

نائب القدس الشريف. وهو ممن استحدثت نيابته في الدولة الأشرفية "شعبان بن حسين" في سنة سبع وسبعين وسبعمائه، وكانت قبل ذلك ولاية وهو طبلخاناه، وربما أضيف إليه نظير الحرمين: حرم القدس، وحرم الخليل عليه السلام. ورسم المكاتبه إليه "صدرت هذه المكاتبه إلى المجلس العالي" والعلامة "والده" وتعريفه "النائب بالقدس الشريف".

**v.7:186-7:** *Nā'ib al-Quds al-Sharīf* this position was initiated during the reign of the *Ashrafiyyah*: Sha'ban Ibn Hussain in the year 777AH...

واعلم أن النصارى بمجملتهم مجمعون على أن مريم حملت بالمسيح عليه السلام، وولده بيث بيت لحم من بلاد القدس من الشام،

**v.13:274:** The Christians in their majority agreed that Mary conceived Jesus (PBUH) and gave birth to him in Bethlehem from **Bilād al-Quds** from al-Sham

1.25

### **Al-Maqrizī nd:**

ودخلت سنة أربع وتسعين ، فانتشر من وصل في البحر من الفرنج ببلاد الساحل ، وملكوا قلعة بيروت ، وقتلوا عدة من المسلمين في أطراف بلاد القدس

**36:** And the year [five hundred and] ninety four commenced and those who arrived from the Franks from the sea spread out in the coastal cities and took over the Fort of Beirut and killed a number of the Muslims in the fringes of **Bilād al-Quds**...

إلى أن وقع الاتفاق أن ملك الفرنج يأخذ القدس من المسلمين، ويقيمها على ما هي من الخراب، ولا يجدد سورها، وأن يكون سائر قوى القدس للمسلمين... وأن تكون القرى التي فيما بين عكا وبين يافا، وبين القدس، بأيدي الفرنج، دون ما عداها من قرى القدس،

**72:** Until an agreement was reached that the King of the Franks [Fredrik] will take al-Quds from the Muslims, and he will keep it in ruins and will not rebuild its walls, as for the rest of al-Quds villages they will be under the control of the Muslims ... The villages between Acre and Jaffa and **al-Quds** will be with the Franks excluding the other **villages of al-Quds**

وخرج ومعه الناصر داود إلى الملك الكامل فتحالفاً، وعوضه الكامل عن دمشق بالكرك... ونابلس وأعمال القدس وبيت جبريل،

**74:** And he left together with al-Nāsir Dawūd to the King al-Kamil and they joined forces, and al-Kamil compensated him for Damascus by handing him al-Karak ... in addition to Nablus, the **boroughs of al-Quds** and Bayt Jibril...

فسير السلطان كمال الدين بن شيخ الشيوخ على عسكر إلى الشام، فخرج إليه الناصر وقتله ببلاد القدس

**100:** So the Sultan sent Kamal al-Dīn Ibn Shaikh al-Shuykh with an army to al-Sham. On that al-Nāsir [Dawūd] went out to him and fought him in *Bilād al-Quds*

فجرد إليهم النائب - أعني الأمير أرغون شاه نائب الشام - ابن صيحه مقدم الجبلية في عدة من الأمراء، فلم يظفر بهم، وأقام بالعسكر على اللحون وأخذ العشير في الغارات على بلاد القدس والخليل ونابلس،

**662:** And the clans started to raid the *Bilād* of al-Quds, al-Khalīl and Nablus

### al-Maqrīzī nd2:

**786:** And I saw in the Torah of the Jews that the first to give a tenth of his cattle and crop and all his belongings was Abraham (the friend of God PBUH) and he used to pay that to the King of Ur-Shalīm which is *Arḍ al-Quds*

ثم ملك منهم الرملة وبلد الخليل عليه السلام وبيت لحم من القدس ومدينة عسقلان ومدينة غزة وبيت جبريل، ثم فتح بيت المقدس في يوم الجمعة

**938:** Then he (Ṣalāh al-Dīn) took from them Ramla and the town of Hebron and Bethlehem from al-Quds and the city of Ascalon and the city of Gaza and Bayt Jibrīl, and then he conquered Bayt al-Maqdis on Friday

إعطائهم القدس ... ويكون حكم قرى القدس إلى المسلمين، وأن القرى التي فيما بين عكا ويافا وبين لد والقدس للفرنجة،

**1127:** To give them al-Quds ... and the villages of al-Quds will be under the rule of the Muslims, and the villages between Acre and Jaffa and between Lud and al-Quds will be with the Franks

وضعت في يوم حملها بقرية بيت لحم من عمل مدينة القدس

**1260:** She delivered him on the same day she conceived him in the village of Bethlehem from the 'Amal of the city of al-Quds

وساعدهم اليهود في محاربة النصارى وتخريب كنائسهم، وأقبلوا نحو الفرس من طبرية وجبل الجليل وقرية الناصرة ومدينة صور وبلاد القدس، فنالوا من النصارى كل منال، وأعظموا النكاية فيهم، وخزبوا لهم كنيسة بالقدس، وحرقوا أماكنهم، وأخذوا قطعة من عود الصليب، وأسروا بطرك القدس وكثيراً من أصحابه،

**1271:** And the Jews helped them [the Persians] to fight the Christians and to destroy their Churches, and they came from Tiberius, al-Jalīl mountain, town of Nazareth, the city of Sour and *Bilād al-Quds* to aid the Persians, and they humiliated them badly, in addition to wrecking two of their churches in al-Quds, and burning their places, as well as taking a piece of the cross and capturing the Patriarch of al-Quds and a lot of his companions

## APPENDIX II:

### Study of Al-Maqdisi's Measurement

Whenever Muslim history or any history is studied, at one stage or another the measurement systems are encountered, as is necessary in every science (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā nd:50). These clearly differ from our current systems. In the place of metres and kilometres, cubits and miles were previously used. There were also differences amongst these; this can be noticed when looking at different eras and different locations (al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.2:155-157; v.3: 320, 512-513). Which makes it essential to establish the measurement systems in the era to be studied, in order to resolve the misunderstandings and confusion that many have fallen into, and to give a better and a more precise explanation of what a particular scholar meant when specifying a certain distance.

### Muslims and Measurement systems

Unlike the 'SI' international system used nowadays, there were hundreds of different measurement systems in use by the different nations. A necessity in order to be able to construct and build, they have been in existence all over the world from the beginning of civilisation. Many ancient civilisations such as those of the Greeks, Romans and Egyptians had their own measurement systems which allowed them to construct very precise monuments, some of which are still in existence today. In Britain alone several scales were used, even for distance measurements. One of these was the mile, to the extent that every region in England had its own mile, as did Scotland and Ireland. These miles ranged from 1524 to 2633.5 metres (Nicholson, 1912: 58-62, 147-155; Zupko 1968:106).<sup>1</sup>

The origin of the mile goes back to the time of the Romans. It is derived from the word 'mille', Latin for 1000, and was first used by the Roman army. A mile is a thousand Roman double paces, each pace being about five feet; equalling about 1480 metres. From surviving Roman milestones of ancient roads, each mile is approximately 1524 metres (Nicholson 1912: 17-18).<sup>2</sup> Measurements varied between different nations, as well as within a nation itself. As for Arabs and Muslims, their measurements were also very diverse.

The Muslim scales were established during the time of Prophet Muhammad, and were developed further in the following eras. This section will mainly concentrate on distance measurements, as other measurement scales are not relevant to this work.

From the time of the Prophet Muhammad certain terminologies were used, such as: *mil* (mile), *farsakh* (parasang), *marhalah* (stage), *barid* (postal stage) and *yanm* (Day), which were based on the *third* (cubit). These terminologies continued to be used for many centuries, with some differences of the cubits

<sup>1</sup> See also: <http://www.unc.edu/~rowlett/units/dictM.html#mile>,

<sup>2</sup> See also: <http://www.mathforum.org/library/drmath/view/61126.htm>

under different reigns. Al-Qalqashandī in his book "*Ṣubḥ al-Aʿsha*" mentions that there were at least seven different cubits, which alternated in different eras, and had different uses (al-Qalqashandī 1987, v.2: 155-157). But, for distance measurement, the majority of scholars have agreed on what the cubit was equal to. It was taken to be 24 digits (a finger breadth), each digit equalling six barleycorns stacked. What they differed on was how many cubits the other terminologies equalled. What is differed on today is what this cubit is equal to in the metric system.

As to what the other lengths were equal to: The longest was the day, which equalled four postal stages.<sup>3</sup> Each postal stage equalled two parasangs; each *marḥala* (stage) varied between five and seven parasangs. Each parasang equalled three miles, and each mile equalled four thousand cubits. These are all shown below in their numerical terms, and in their equivalence to the other values used at that time.

|              | Day  | Postal stage | Stage        | Parasang | Mile  |
|--------------|------|--------------|--------------|----------|-------|
| Day          | 1    | 4            | -            | 8        | 24    |
| Postal stage | ¼    | 1            | -            | 2        | 6     |
| Stage        | -    | -            | 1            | 5-7      | 15-21 |
| Parasang     | 1/8  | 1/2          | 1/5 or 1/7   | 1        | 3     |
| Mile         | 1/24 | 1/6          | 1/15 or 1/21 | 1/3      | 1     |

Table 10.1: Distance measurement accepted by the majority of scholars

The majority of scholars accept the above but some vary on how many cubits the mile equals. Some take it to be three thousand five hundred. A small minority take it to equal either two thousand or six thousand cubits (Dhāish nd:112; al-Zubaydī 1994, v.15:708).

In the Umayyad reign there were many constructions, and road buildings, and distance signs –milestones– were installed on most major routes. These were mainly erected during the time of their fifth Umayyad Khalif ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86AH/ 685-705CE) (Duri 1990:87-89; Krachkovski 1963:61). Some of these milestones, which date back to his reign, have been rediscovered; thus an estimation of the mile used can be calculated.



Figure 10. 1: Milestone 1

One such milestone was found close to a church in *Abū Gosh*, about 14km North-West of Jerusalem. The milestone states clearly that it is seven miles

<sup>3</sup> This is the case in al-Sham and Khurasān, but in Arabia and Iraq it is double (ie. Each postal stage equals 12 miles). See Al-Maqdisī (1906:66); Ibn Rustah (1892:22); Al-Zuhīlī 2002, v.1:142; Kamāl (1986:143).

from the city of Aelia (Van Berchem 1922: 19-21; Foucart 1922:P1.I), as can be seen below. Therefore each mile works out to equal 2km.<sup>4</sup>

...أمر بعمارة هذا الطريق وصناعة الأميال عبد الله عبد الملك أمير المؤمنين رحمت الله عليه من إيلياء إلى هذا الميل سبعة أميال

Has ordered the renovation of this road and construction of the milestones 'Abdullah 'Abd al-Mālik, Amīr of the Faithful, may Allah's mercy be on him. **From Aelia to this milestone there are seven miles**

Another milestone was found at a watchtower in *bāb al-nād*, about 19km North-West of Aelia, on the route to Ramla. It states clearly that it is eight miles from the city of Aelia (Figure 10.2) (Van Berchem 1922: 17-21; Foucart 1922:P1.II). Therefore, in this case the mile works out to be 2.375 km.<sup>5</sup>

أمر بعمارة هذا الطريق وصناعة الأميال عبد الله عبد الملك أمير المؤمنين رحمت الله عليه من إيلياء إلى هذا الميل ثمانية أميال

Has ordered the renovation of this road and construction of the milestones 'Abdullah 'Abd al-Mālik, Amīr of the Faithful, may Allah's mercy be on him. **From Aelia to this milestone there are eight miles.**



Figure 10.2: Milestone 2

Other milestones were also discovered on the route to Damascus around Jericho. Two of these milestones were on the same route and were two miles apart; one was found in Dīr al-Qilt, and the other in Khan al-Hatrout (Van Berchem 1922: 17-21; Foucart 1922:P1.II). The distance between them worked out to be around 4.8km, which means that a mile equals 2.4km.<sup>6</sup>

As can be seen, these results vary from 2km to 2.4km; it is not possible to get an exact approximation to the mile during the time of 'Abd al-Mālik, as these milestones could have easily been moved from their exact locations, and there

<sup>4</sup>  $\frac{14}{7} = 2\text{km}$

<sup>5</sup>  $\frac{19}{8} = 2.375\text{km}$

<sup>6</sup>  $\frac{4.8}{2} = 2.4\text{km}$

are other milestones that need to be investigated further. But, from the above calculations, the mean value is equal to 2.258km,<sup>7</sup> and this is supported by an estimation of the early Arab mile by Gil, who finds it equivalent to 2.3km (Gil 1996: 11).

Another major development in this field was during the reign of the Muslim Khalif Al-Ma'mūn (197-218AH/ 813-833CE). He established *Bayt al-Hikmah* House of Wisdom, which took part in Al Ma'mūn's expedition to measure the circumference of the Earth (Krachkovski 1963:82-83). The circumference of the Earth was estimated to be 21000 Arab miles.<sup>8</sup> Some declare that this was the most accurate measurement of the circumference of the Earth up to the era of precision technology (Krachkovski 1963: 84). Therefore, some researchers have concluded from these measurements that the mile was then equal to 1973m.<sup>9</sup> One of the scholars who carried out detailed calculations for the metric concordance to Al-Ma'mūn's measurements was Nallino in the year 1892. He concluded that the Arab mile was equal to 4000 black cubits, and that each of these cubits was equal to 0.4933m. Which means each mile would be equal to 1973.2 metres (Krachkovski 1963:83). Another scholar who carried out similar calculations was Schoy in the year 1927; he came up with slightly different results. He found the cubit equal to 0.4932m, and therefore the mile was equal to 1972.8 metres (Krachkovski 1963:83).

Mahmud Bey carried out similar calculations and arrived at exactly the same results as Schoy; this was later approved by al-Azhar.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile Hinz arrived at different calculations; he found the Arab cubit to be 0.49875m, and therefore the Arab mile to equal 1995metres.<sup>11</sup>

There are many approximations as to what the Arab mile was equal to; some are illustrated above, but there are many more (Al-Juzayri 2001:472-473; Al-Ratrout 2002: 221-238).<sup>12</sup> There is no exact mile for all eras. Therefore, it is best to investigate a specific scholar, who will be studied in light of the eras around him. This can be achieved by taking some examples of certain measurements given by the scholar and try to compare them with their metric concordance, to give a close estimation of the equivalent of that measurement system.

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<sup>7</sup>  $mean = \frac{2 + 2.4 + 2.375}{3} = 2.2583$

<sup>8</sup> Stern, D. *from Stargazers to Starships*, <http://www-istp.gsfc.nasa.gov/stargaze/Salgeb2.htm>, see also, <http://www-istp.gsfc.nasa.gov/stargaze/Scolumb.htm>

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.islamset.com/arabic/asc/fangry1.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Stecchini, L. *A History of Measures*, part:1 The Origin of English Measures, <http://www.metrum.org/measures/english.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> See also: Riebe, Alan, *Chronicle of Shipwrecks and Sunken Treasure 900-1900 A.D.* [http://sevenseaspublishing.com/excerpt\\_b1ch2.asp](http://sevenseaspublishing.com/excerpt_b1ch2.asp); <http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~fisher/hst372/readings/gil.html>; <http://www.carmensandiego.com/products/time/columbus10/plans.html>; <http://www.islamonline.net/Arabic/Science/2001/04/Article18.shtml>; <http://www.islampedia.com/MIE2/fokoh/fokoh63.html>.

### Al-Maqdisi's Measurements

In chapter six, the discussion on measurements is based on al-Maqdisi's dimensions, since his is the earliest and most detailed account with dimensions of the boundaries of IslamicJerusalem. Therefore, a detailed study of his measurements are the main focus of this section.

Al-Maqdisi in his book uses many terminologies when referring to distances, and he does not keep to one terminology. He makes it clear from the start what he means by some of these terminologies. He takes one postal stage to be two parasangs, and each parasang to be equal to three miles. Each mile he takes to be four thousand cubits, and the cubit to be twenty-four digits (a finger breadth), and each digit equals six barleycorns stacked front to back (Al-Maqdisi 1906:59-60, 65-66). This is also the case with most other geographers, specifically with what the cubit is equal to (Ibn Rustah 1891:22; Dhāish nd: 104, 111; al-Ḥamawī nd v.1:53; Ibn Khaldūn 1999, v.1:45; al-Qalaqshandī 1987, v.3:320). The table below (Table 10.2) explains the above in numerical terms.

|        | Postal stage | Parasang | Cubit | Digit | Barleycorn |
|--------|--------------|----------|-------|-------|------------|
| Mile = | 1/6          | 1/3      | 4000  | 96000 | 576000     |

Table 10.2: Different terminologies and their equivalents according to al-Maqdisi

As for the *marḥala* 'Stage', al-Maqdisi has a special methodology which he uses every time he mentions this term. This is a special dotting system, which he places on the characters of the word *marḥala*. He states that every time he writes the word it varies between five and ten parasangs depending on where the dot is (Al-Maqdisi 1906:106). Unfortunately, this cannot be implemented and used in this study, as the many edited –published– copies of this manuscript which the author had access to, neglected this methodology, and did not take it into consideration. However, the majority of the measured distances he provides in the region to be studied are given in this system (al-Maqdisi 1906:192).

For this reason, the author had to neglect many of the distances that could have been useful in the study. Which left only the measurements of al-Aqsa Mosque, and a few measurements between cities and towns in the region. Therefore, other monuments and measurements, mainly outside IslamicJerusalem and the region of al-Sham and still in their original form, are studied. These include monuments such as the sacred Ka'bah and the boundaries of the mosque in Makkah, and the Pyramids of Giza.

To start with, the dimensions of al-Aqsa Mosque are investigated. Al-Aqsa is an irregular rectangle (Figure 10.3), and al-Maqdisi gives only two dimensions to it, which means that an exact equivalent is not possible, because of the two missing dimensions. He gives the length of al-Aqsa Mosque as 1000 *hashimī* cubits (al-Maqdisi 1906:171), and today's measurement of the longest side equals 488 metres (al-Ratrout 2005:199-202); therefore a cubit equals 0.488m. The other side equals 466m, which means the cubit equals 0.466m. As for the breadth there should also be two values; al-Maqdisi gives one as 700 *hashimī* cubits (al-Maqdisi 1906:171), and the longest width is 314 metres. Which means that the



cubit would then equal 0.4486 metres (al-Ratrout 2005:199-202). The other width is 281m, which means that the cubit on this side would equal 0.4014m. This shows many inconsistencies concerning the size of the cubit. Al-Maqdisi specifies that the measurement he uses is that of the *hashimi* cubit, which could mean that he was using a different scale from the one he normally used, or that he took the measurement from someone else. However, the mean of the above measurements gives a cubit of 0.451m,<sup>13</sup> which in turn gives a mile of 1804 metres.

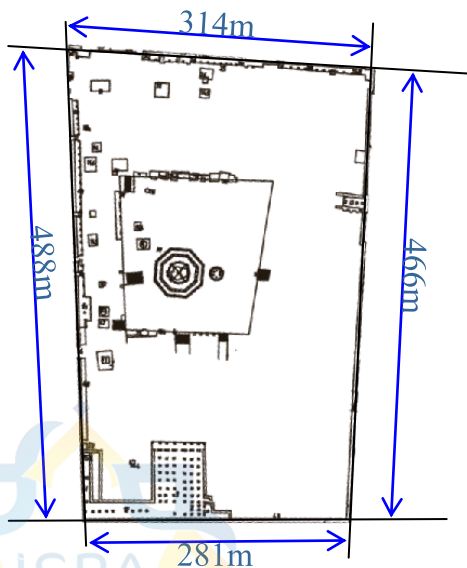


Figure 10.3: Top elevation of al-Aqsa Mosque

As for the longest measurement of the cubit, a mile would be 1952 metres.

Looking at other distances measured by al-Maqdisi such as the measurements between al-Lud and Ramla, he states that al-Lud is one mile away from Ramla. In today's measurement this is about 2 kilometres (al-Maqdisi 1906:176; 'Arrāf 1990:207). This can only give an estimation, because it is unknown whether he took the measurements from the centre of the city or from its borders. But from the northern end of Ramla to the beginning of al-Lud is 2.23km.<sup>14</sup> Therefore the mile here equals 2.23km.

In another location in his book he mentions that from Hebron to the mosque of al-Yaqin is three miles (al-Maqdisi 1906: 173; Le Strange 1975:9, 551, 552). This is just under 7km away from Hebron, therefore the mile then equals 2.32km.

Al-Maqdisi gives the distance from Dīr Shamwīl – at present Nabi Samwīl – (Le Strange 1975:433) to Aelia as a parasang (=3miles) (Le Strange 1975:188). From measurements today, this is around 6.96km north of Jerusalem, which means each mile equals 2.32km.

<sup>13</sup> 
$$\text{mean} = \frac{0.488 + 0.466 + 0.4486 + 0.4014}{4} = 0.451\text{m}$$

<sup>14</sup> This is also a problem with the other measurements to follow; therefore the same approach will be taken. The distance is taken from the nearest ends of the city or town. This is different in the case of Jerusalem, as the measurement is taken from al-Aqsa Mosque to that specific location.



Al-Maqdisi also gives the distance from Jericho to Jerusalem as two postal stages (=12 miles) (Le Strange 1975:192). This is equivalent to 22.32km, which means each mile equals 1.86km.

These were some of the measurements that were investigated in this region, as most of the other dimensions were given in *marḥala* which, as explained earlier, varies depending on the dotting. Therefore, other locations had to be investigated in order to arrive at a more accurate approximation to the mile.

The measurements of the Ka'bah from the time of al-Maqdisi are compared with its measurements today. As it is unfamiliar to most people, it must be explained that the Ka'bah is not a square. It is an irregular rectangular shape, each side differing in length from the others (Figure 10.4).

Al-Maqdisi only gave two dimensions, width and breadth, as with al-Aqsa Mosque, which means he neglected the other two and no one knows which of the sides he measured. Thus, a very accurate

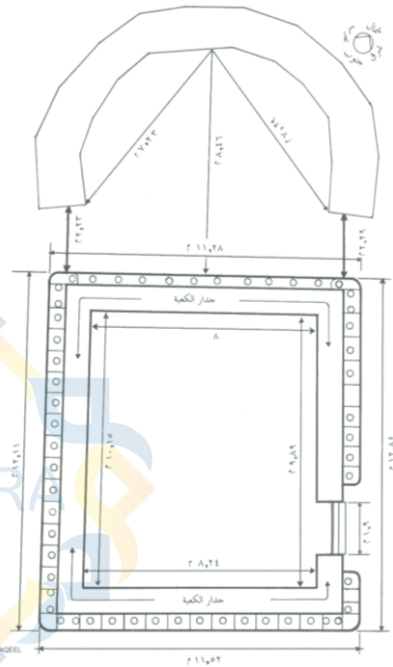


Figure 10.4: Top elevation of al-Ka'bah

answer is not possible; however, a close approximation of what his cubit was equal to can be achieved by taking both the breadths and the two longest sides of the Ka'bah.

Al-Madqisi measured the length of the Ka'bah and found it to be twenty-four cubits and a hand span (Al-Maqdisi 1906:72). The metric equivalent of the longest side of the Ka'bah nowadays is 12.15 metres. Therefore:

$$1 \text{ cubit} = \frac{12.15 \text{ metres}}{24.4583 \text{ cubits}} = 0.49676 \text{ metres}$$

But Al-Madqisi could have measured the other side, which is equal to 11.88 metres. Which would then mean that:

$$1 \text{ cubit} = \frac{11.88 \text{ metres}}{24.4583 \text{ cubits}} = 0.48572 \text{ metres}$$

Although the difference is 0.011m, and seems very small, when amplified it becomes considerable. This can be noticed clearly when the mile from each cubit is calculated.

Mile from 1<sup>st</sup> cubit =  $0.49676 \times 4000 = 1987.05\text{m}$

Mile from 2<sup>nd</sup> cubit =  $0.48572 \times 4000 = 1942.896\text{m}$

Thus the difference is:  $1987.05\text{m} - 1942.896\text{m} = 44.157$  metres. This difference would be amplified by the same ratio as the number of miles went up. Therefore even the slightest differences in the measurement of the cubit would be very large when amplified.

Another area well covered by al-Maḡdisī and most other scholars is that of the boundaries of *al-Ḥaram* in Makkah; this is a sacred area, and many rulings are associated with it. Al-Maḡdisī gives five sides of its borders, one of which is still in use, and very well known today by its original name *al-Tan'im*. He states where he took the measurement, namely three miles to the west. From my calculations<sup>15</sup> this works out as 6153.85 metres from the Ka'bah itself. Others give the figure as 6148m,<sup>16</sup> taking it from *al-Umrā* Gate, which has probably been moved with the recent expansion. While according to Dhaish it is 6150m (Dhaish nd:123), which is probably the most accurate from the original Gate to *al-Tan'im*. Therefore the mile would equal  $\frac{6.150\text{km}}{3 \text{ Miles}} = 2050 \text{ metres} = 2.05\text{km}$ ,

and the cubit would then equal 0.5125km.

Another example of a dimension that Al-Maḡdisī gives, that is still in its original form, is that of the great Pyramid of Giza. He states that each side is equal to 400 (al-Malik) cubits (al-Maḡdisī 1906:210; al-Iṣṭakhṛī 1927:51). Today's measurement of the side of the Pyramid equals 230metres.<sup>17</sup> Which means:

$$1 \text{ cubit} = \frac{230 \text{ metres}}{400 \text{ cubits}} = 0.575 \text{ metres}$$

Al-Maḡdisī states that he gives his measurement in the al-Malik cubit, which means that he was using a different scale from the one he used normally. From this the mile is calculated as 2300 metres. While Stecchini arrives at different results; he compares some Arab geographic accounts – which he does not name– of the great Pyramid of Giza, which state that each side of the Pyramid was equal to 460 Arab cubits. Thus he calculates the cubit as equalling 0.5012m.<sup>18</sup> From this the mile is calculated to equal 2004.8 metres.

From the above discussions, two tables are drawn out, one the measurements of monuments (Table 10.3), and the other the measurements of distances between locations (Table 10.4).

<sup>15</sup> Detailed map of *al-Ḥaram* area

<sup>16</sup> Rif'at Basha, I. *Mir'at al-Ḥaramin*, cited in Dhaish (nd:117); [www.makkahweb.com/r6.htm](http://www.makkahweb.com/r6.htm)

<sup>17</sup> [www.geocities.com/egyptianempires/Khutu.htm](http://www.geocities.com/egyptianempires/Khutu.htm)

<sup>18</sup> Stecchini, L. *A History of Measures*, part:1 The Origin of English Measures, <http://www.metrum.org/measures/english.htm>.

| Location |     | Metre | Cubits  | 1 Cubit (m) | mean   |
|----------|-----|-------|---------|-------------|--------|
| Aqsa     | (L) | 488   | 1000    | 0.488       | 0.477  |
|          | (L) | 466   | 1000    | 0.466       |        |
|          | (W) | 314   | 700     | 0.4485714   | 0.425  |
|          | (W) | 281   | 700     | 0.4014286   |        |
| Ka'bah   | (L) | 12.15 | 24.4583 | 0.4967632   | 0.4912 |
|          | (L) | 11.88 | 24.4583 | 0.485724    |        |
|          | (H) | 16    | 27      | 0.5925926   | 0.5926 |
|          | (W) | 10.25 | 23.4583 | 0.4369449   | 0.4316 |
|          | (W) | 10    | 23.4583 | 0.4262877   |        |
| Pyramid  | (L) | 230   | 400     | 0.575       | 0.575  |
|          | (W) | 230   | 400     | 0.575       | 0.575  |

Table 10.3: Measurements of monuments in cubits by al-Maqdisī and their metric equivalents, as well as calculations of their mean value, and its corresponding value of the mile.

| Location        |             | distance     | distance | mile equivalent |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------|----------|-----------------|
| from            | to          | (mile)       | (km)     | in km           |
| al-Lud          | al-Ramla    | 1            | 2.2314   | 2.231404956     |
| Hebron          | al-Yaqeen   | 3            | 6.9767   | 2.325566667     |
| Al-Haram Mosque | al-Tan'im   | 3            | 6.15     | 2.05            |
| Jerusalem       | Dīr Shamwīl | 3            | 6.96     | 2.32            |
| Jerusalem       | Jericho     | 12           | 22.32    | 1.86            |
|                 |             | mean value = | 2157.39  | metres          |

Table 10.4: Distance measurement of Al-Maqdisī and its equivalent metric value, along with calculations of the mean.

Table 10.3 also includes the other dimensions of the monuments that were not discussed, and the resulting mean value from the three monuments, which worked out as 0.5237metres.

Al-Maqdisī has stated – as mentioned earlier– what he means exactly by a mile in his terminologies. From the above calculations, it was possible to revert back to what the original terms equalled and put them in their metric equivalence (Table 10.5).

|                                    | Mile        | Cubit          | Digit         | Barleycorn      |
|------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Mile 1 =                           | 2095        | 0.52374        | 0.0218        | 0.003637        |
| Mile 2 =                           | <u>2157</u> | <u>0.53935</u> | <u>0.0225</u> | <u>0.003746</u> |
| <b>Difference<br/>mile2– mile1</b> | <b>62</b>   | <b>0.01561</b> | <b>0.0007</b> | <b>0.000108</b> |

Table 10.5: al-Maqdisī's terminologies and their metric equivalents

Also the difference between the first and second equivalents of the mile was calculated at just over sixty metres, with cubit difference of less than two centimetres. This gets even smaller approaching the digit, and much less when the sizes of the barleycorns are compared, the difference being about 0.1 millimetres. Therefore although the difference is very minor to start with, the more the original number is amplified, the larger the difference becomes. As for the sizes of these terms, the digit was found to be between 2.18cm and 2.25cm; both these seem to be acceptable values when compared with the average digit today.

When the mean is taken between these two final values of the mile, the mean value works out to be **2126 metres**.<sup>19</sup> This final value is very close to a value given in a scientific WebPage 'FootRule', which contains all ancient and recent measurements, where it is stated that an Arab mile is equal to 2.162048 km.<sup>20</sup> Also this value is similar to what other geographers used for distance measurement, as they have given similar measurements to al-Maqdisī's. This can be clearly seen with the measurements of the boundaries of Al-Masjid al-Haram, especially with the distance from the mosque to its boundaries with al-Tan'im. This has been given by many, as well as al-Maqdisī, to be three miles (al-Fakihi 1998, v.3(5):89.; Dhaish nd:104-5, 111). Therefore this value (**2126m for an Arab mile**) is the value of the mile used.

<sup>19</sup>  $mean = \frac{2095 + 2157}{2} = 2126 \text{ metres}$

<sup>20</sup> The FootRule, [www.footrule.com](http://www.footrule.com)

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# INDEX

## A

- A'māl al-Quds, 180, 199, 285, 291  
Prophet Aaron, 61  
Abbasid, 82, 118, 139, 141, 148, 151, 175, 200  
Prophet Abraham, 15, 16, 22-25, 33, 38, 39, 40, 66, 67, 91, 107, 149, 157, 187, 192, 230, 231, 293  
Acre, 254, 258, 291, 293  
Adana, 30  
Adna al-Arḍ, 91  
Aelia, 2, 37, 59, 61-66, 81-88, 92-99, 102, 105-115, 119-127, 131, 132, 134, 136, 138, 139, 142, 144, 145, 150, 151, 155, 157, 158, 159, 170-172, 185, 186, 193, 199, 200, 201-204, 207, 208, 211-214, 230, 246, 248-253, 263, 269, 270, 283, 297, 300  
Ajloun, 180, 256, 291  
Ajnādīn, 65, 113, 213, 250  
Al-Buḥayrah al-Muntinah. *See* Dead Sea  
Aleppo, 31, 136, 140, 168, 169, 255, 258, 289  
‘Amal al-Quds, 178, 181, 199, 292  
‘Amal al-Quds al-Sharīf, 170, 199, 257  
Amman, 86, 211, 223, 242, 253, 271  
Antichrist, 4, 5, 54, 105, 149, 234  
Al-Aqsa, 1, 3, 4, 5, 23-25, 32-35, 46-50, 55, 56, 64, 67, 86-89, 92, 94-100, 104, 106, 114, 115, 120-122, 124, 126-132, 135, 137, 144, 146, 147, 150, 152, 154, 155, 159, 163, 165-172, 182, 185, 192, 206, 212, 213, 214, 264, 279, 284, 285, 289, 299, 300, 301  
Arabian Desert, 28  
Arabian Peninsula, 44, 85, 263, 264, 265  
Arāḍī Bayt al-Maqdis, 221  
Arḍ al-Bayt al-Muqadas, 192, 200  
Arḍ al-Maqdis, 68, 108, 137, 146, 157, 158, 184, 187, 189, 190, 193, 199, 236, 276, 278  
Al-Arḍ al-Mubarakah. *See* Land of Barakah  
Al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah. *See* Holy Land  
Arḍ al-Quds, 136, 140, 142, 146, 157, 158, 176, 177, 179, 184, 199, 233, 237-239, 276, 291, 293  
Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis, 121, 136, 137, 149, 156, 157, 175, 184, 186-189, 193, 199, 220, 222, 229, 231, 234, 235, 237, 239, 275-278  
Al-‘Arish, 27, 31, 40, 62, 72, 73, 189, 239  
Al-‘Aroub, 177, 232, 290  
Ascalon, 191, 210, 227, 233, 234, 239, 240, 242, 246, 252, 254, 271, 275, 283, 293  
‘Atroun, 168

Ayla, 27, 28, 30, 31, 44, 53, 58, 59, 61,  
63, 72, 246, 254  
‘Aynūn, 89, 100, 186, 232, 249, 283  
Ayyūbid, 165, 170, 177, 200, 254, 255

## B

Babylon, 38  
Al-Baḥr al-Shamī. *See* Mediterranean  
Sea  
Balad al-Quds, 229  
Balis, 27, 28  
Basra, 136  
Bayt ‘Aynūn. *See* ‘Aynūn  
Bayt Jibrīn, 5, 89, 155, 248, 249, 252,  
253, 255  
Beersheba, 4, 180, 188, 206, 210, 221,  
223, 239, 259, 275  
Beisan, 208, 211, 223, 271  
Bethlehem, 4, 84, 86, 146, 149, 181,  
191, 200, 224, 227, 230, 240, 253-  
255, 258, 274, 292, 293  
Bilād al-Bayt al-Muqadas, 192, 200  
Bilād al-Maqdis, 184, 191, 239, 240  
Bilād al-Quds, 171, 174, 179, 180-184,  
199, 291-293  
Bilād al-Quds al-Sharīf, 171, 172, 199  
Bilād al-Qudsiyah, 184  
Bilād Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis, 157, 220,  
221  
Buḥayrat Ṣuḡhar. *See* Dead Sea  
Byzantine, 26, 27, 28, 31, 59, 67, 85, 91,  
94, 98, 99, 102, 107, 109, 110, 114,  
123, 126, 205, 246, 247, 250, 251

## C

Caesarea, 65, 109, 110, 113, 211, 213,  
214, 250, 271  
Christian, 85, 86, 89, 100, 128, 154,  
156, 165, 181, 278, 279, 287, 289  
Christianity, 86, 99, 129, 292  
Circle Theory, 34, 264  
Crusade, 82, 118, 139, 161, 163, 187,  
252-254  
Crusader, 2, 162, 173, 176, 177, 179,  
187, 190, 193, 200, 233, 252, 254,  
255, 269

## D

Damascus, 27, 60, 61, 63, 66, 74, 108,  
109, 126, 168, 180, 182, 190, 192,  
255, 256, 258, 283, 287, 289, 292,  
293, 297  
Dathin, 108  
Dawmat al-Jandal, 72, 245  
Dead Sea, 39, 54, 59, 60, 61, 63, 72, 74,  
169, 177, 180, 204, 205, 208, 216,  
219, 229, 233, 239, 241, 242, 246,  
252, 259, 271, 275  
Dīr Shamwīl, 300  
Diyār al-Quds, 178, 184, 185, 199  
Diyār al-Qudsiyah, 184, 185  
Dome of the Rock, 48, 150, 183, 185,  
285, 287

## E

Egypt, 28, 31, 34, 40-42, 45, 46, 49, 51,  
53, 54, 56, 57-59, 61, 62, 72-74, 86,  
137, 143, 146, 157, 179, 182, 189,  
215, 221, 222, 233, 234, 239, 258,  
264, 265, 284, 291, 292, 295  
Eilat. *See* Ayla  
Eleutheropolis. *See* Bayt Jibrīn  
Euphrates, 27, 28, 31, 38-41, 62, 72, 73

## F

Faḍā'il, 4, 149, 152, 175, 185, 187, 192,  
229  
Fahl, 66, 109  
Fatimid, 182, 200, 253

## G

Gaza, 74, 107, 108, 191, 203, 210, 223,  
233, 239, 240, 252, 254, 256-259,  
271, 293  
Ghor, 61, 136, 178, 192, 229, 230, 237,  
239, 253, 255, 256, 285, 291, 292  
Ghor al-Ṣaḥī. *See* Zoar

## H

Al-Ḥamawī, 4, 38, 61, 84, 85, 89, 132,  
134, 177, 185, 188, 192, 199, 213,



222, 231, 232, 235, 240, 241, 246,  
249, 290, 299  
Hamma, 74, 164, 255, 258  
Al-Ḥaram, 5, 6, 89, 102, 243, 245, 260,  
273  
Hebron, 4, 39, 40, 74, 89, 100, 107,  
129, 149, 157, 162, 165, 166, 168,  
180, 181, 186-188, 191, 192, 200,  
224, 227, 228, 230-233, 235, 237,  
240-242, 248, 249, 252, 254-259,  
274, 287, 293, 300  
Al-Hijaz, 72, 164, 165, 215  
Holy Land, 1-3, 7, 8, 13, 40, 42-44, 51-  
77, 82, 100, 101, 145, 146, 149, 158,  
166, 181, 186, 187, 190, 207, 211,  
212, 215, 217, 219, 224, 228, 239,  
263-269, 275, 276, 278, 279  
Holy Sepulchre, 86, 99, 166, 168, 171,  
287, 289  
Homs, 86, 109, 237, 258

## I

Ibn Ḥawqal, 10, 28-30, 221, 252  
Iḥrām, 104, 121, 126, 137, 279  
Iraq, 28, 38, 39, 46, 72, 108, 138, 231,  
264, 296  
Isaac, 15, 149, 157, 187, 230, 231  
Al-Isrāʾ. *See* Night Journey  
Israelites, 41, 42, 51, 57, 58, 61-63, 72,  
91, 103, 145, 146, 153, 156-158,  
187, 207, 220, 221, 228, 265, 275  
Iṣṭakhri, 10, 28, 29, 30, 143, 153, 154,  
188, 221, 222, 223, 302

## J

Jābiyah, 110, 112  
Prophet Jacob, 149, 157, 187, 231  
Al-Jafar, 153, 221, 222  
Jaffa, 143, 168, 187, 204, 205, 208, 224,  
252, 254, 255, 258, 259, 274, 293  
Jamaʿil, 180, 189, 190, 235, 236  
Jamaʿin. *See* Jamaʿil  
Jarash, 67  
Jenin, 218, 223, 274, 275  
Jericho, 5, 60-64, 102, 126, 143, 145,  
149, 178, 187, 188, 200, 224, 227-  
230, 252-254, 274, 291, 297, 301

Jerusalemite, 85, 147, 175, 190, 234,  
280  
Prophet Jesus, 15, 67, 91, 105, 142,  
143, 149, 151, 230, 234, 278, 292  
Jew, 54, 111, 138, 283, 293  
Jewish, 154, 156, 279  
Jewish revolt, 248  
Jizyah, 111, 112  
Prophet John, 103, 106, 115  
Jordan, 3, 8, 9, 38, 61, 63, 81, 109, 110,  
180, 192, 203, 208, 215, 224, 233  
Prophet Joseph, 237  
Prophet Joshua, 102, 115, 228  
Jund, 67, 252, 253; Ajnād, 63, 67, 76,  
191, 205, 208, 239, 240, 246, 247,  
285

## K

Ka'bah, 21, 22, 33, 84, 87, 88, 96, 105,  
124, 130, 142, 299, 301, 302  
Kabul, 36  
Karak, 168, 176, 180, 181, 182, 205,  
227, 233, 255, 274, 289, 291-293  
Karnab, 275  
Khayran, 180, 192, 232, 292  
Kidron Valley, 167  
Kufa, 27, 38  
Kuseifa, 205, 207, 208, 218, 224, 240,  
241, 271, 274, 275  
Kutha, 38, 39, 149  
Kutharaba. *See* Kutha

## L

Land of Barakah, 13-50-42  
Land of Barakah, 1-3, 7, 8, 13-50, 55,  
56, 58, 65-69, 73, 74, 76, 77, 82, 90,  
100, 206, 263-269, 276  
Land of Raising and Gathering, 103,  
104, 186, 189  
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 254  
Liwa' al-Quds, 183  
Liwa' al-Quds al-Mustaḳil al-Mumtāz,  
259  
Prophet Lot, 23, 24, 38, 39, 40, 71, 186,  
215, 216  
Lud, 5, 112, 123, 149, 151, 188, 200,  
204, 227, 234, 251, 252, 254, 274,  
293, 300

## M

Ma'ab, 60, 201, 205, 207, 208, 224, 242, 271, 274, 275  
 Ma'rib, 43  
 Madian, 30, 54  
 Madinah, 5, 6, 8, 14, 49, 53, 66, 82, 88, 90-94, 96-98, 100-106, 110, 111, 115, 120, 126, 128, 133, 151, 161, 243, 245, 251, 260, 264, 272, 273, 279  
 Makkah, 5, 6, 14, 21, 22, 32-34, 37, 40, 47, 59, 61, 66, 82, 86-88, 90-94, 96-102, 104, 106, 120, 128, 133, 147, 161, 205, 243, 245, 248, 260, 264, 272, 273, 279, 283, 299, 302  
 Makkans. See Quraysh  
 Mamlūk, 2, 61, 168, 170, 171, 173, 174, 200, 255-258  
 Mammlakat al-Quds al-Sharīf, 200, 255  
 Al-Maqdisi, 10, 28, 29, 30, 37, 59, 75, 144, 145, 155, 156, 158, 199, 200-211, 214, 216, 219, 223, 224, 236, 247, 251, 252, 270-272, 275, 276, 283, 295, 296, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304  
 Mar'ash, 30  
 Martum, 89, 100, 249  
 Mediterranean Sea, 27, 28, 31, 50, 71, 72, 73, 74, 179, 182, 204, 216, 233, 241, 246, 259, 271, 274  
 Mile, 1, 8, 37, 68, 69, 70, 75, 76, 125, 126, 144, 146, 201, 202, 204-206, 208, 210-214, 223, 224, 266, 271, 275, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300-304  
 Moab, 60  
 Moguls, 255  
 Morocco, 148  
 Moses, 15, 21, 41, 43, 49, 51, 54-64, 100, 143, 158, 175, 187, 201, 207, 229, 241, 265, 290  
 Mount Nebo, 60, 61, 74  
 Mount of Olives, 142, 167  
 Muhammad, 1, 6, 10, 22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32, 49, 54-56, 59, 61, 66, 67, 73, 82, 89, 90, 92-94, 96, 98, 99, 100-107, 115, 119, 126, 127, 129, 142, 228, 234, 245, 253, 264, 269, 272, 295  
 Al-Muqāṭam, 143  
 Mutaṣarrifyāt al-Quds, 173, 259

Mutaṣarrifyāt al-Quds al-Sharīf, 259

## N

Nablus, 72, 142, 146, 154, 168, 177, 180, 181, 191, 192, 200, 201, 206, 207, 208, 217, 218, 223, 224, 227, 230, 234-237, 239-241, 246, 248, 252-259, 271, 274, 275, 283, 290, 291, 293  
 Nawahī al-Quds, 199  
 Nazareth, 181, 292, 293  
 Naḡīr, 162, 166, 287, 292  
 Neapolis, 248  
 Negev Desert, 61, 72, 241  
 Night Journey, 4, 32, 34, 59, 87, 90, 92-95, 115, 128, 133  
 Night of al-Qadr, 19, 20, 22  
 Niyābat al-Quds, 181, 182, 199, 292  
 Niyābat al-Quds al-Sharīf, 200  
 Noah, 15, 16, 20, 21, 84  
 Nuba, 129, 257, 284

## O

Ottoman, 2, 10, 81, 82, 118, 161, 170, 171, 173, 174, 185, 193, 200, 258, 259, 270

## P

Palestina Prima, 106, 107, 108, 113, 140, 246, 247, 250, 251  
 Palestina Secunda, 140, 214, 246  
 Palestina Tertia, 27, 106, 107, 108, 140, 214, 246, 247  
 Persia, 36, 147  
 Persian, 91, 94, 99, 246, 249, 251, 293  
 Phoenicia Libanensis, 246  
 Phoenicia Marittima, 246

## Q

Qaysariyya. See Caesarea  
 Qiblah, 13, 64, 72, 88, 96, 133, 139, 142, 201, 205  
 Qinisrīn, 28, 31  
 Quraysh, 93, 94, 95, 99, 115

## R

Rabwah, 13, 151, 186, 239  
 Ramilah, 186  
 Ramla, 5, 27, 71, 72, 73, 107, 123, 126, 143, 151, 154, 155, 164, 181, 188, 191, 200, 204, 205, 207, 208, 211, 215, 216, 219, 224, 234, 240, 251, 252, 254-258, 271, 274, 275, 283, 285, 287, 293, 297, 300  
 Red Sea, 54, 57, 58, 259  
 Ribāt al-Kurd, 167, 287  
 River Jordan, 66, 67, 70-74, 216, 219, 229, 241, 246, 256, 257, 259, 265, 268, 271, 274, 275  
 Roman Sea. *See* Mediterranean Sea  
 Rumylah, 235

## S

Sa'ir, 177, 232, 257  
 Šadr, 186  
 Safad, 168, 255, 258  
 Salt, 180, 256, 271, 291  
 Samaritans, 145, 146, 154  
 Samawah, 72  
 Samisat, 30  
 Sawād, 156, 283  
 Al-Sham, 14, 16, 25-32, 34-36, 39, 40, 42-45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 59, 61-63, 65-67, 69, 72-74, 76, 77, 81, 85, 89, 94, 96, 99, 100, 103-108, 113, 114, 122-124, 136, 140, 142, 147, 148, 150-152, 154, 156, 169, 181, 182, 188, 189, 192, 201, 205, 215, 235, 237, 239, 246-248, 251, 252, 255, 256, 258, 263-265, 267, 268, 275, 283, 291-293, 296, 299  
 Shawikah, 235  
 Shiḥan, 177, 180, 241, 242, 271, 290, 292  
 Al-Shura, 72  
 Al-Shuwaikah, 177, 290  
 Šidā, 258  
 Sinai, 21, 28, 31, 49, 54, 57, 58, 59, 63, 65, 72, 73, 183, 189, 221, 222, 265  
 Solomon, 23, 25, 35, 36, 37, 43, 91, 97, 146, 169  
 Stinking Lake. *See* Dead Sea  
 Subā, 186

Šughar. *See* Zoar  
 Syria Prima, 27, 246  
 Syria Secunda, 246

## T

Ṭablakhanah, 292  
 Tabuk, 30, 31, 45, 72, 73, 90, 101, 102  
 Tadmur, 31, 36  
 Taqu', 180, 186, 232, 292  
 Tiberius, 123, 157, 229, 237, 239, 246, 293  
 Al-Tifāshī, 69, 70, 211, 212, 214, 215, 219, 224, 272  
 Tih. *See* wilderness  
 Tripoli, 136, 237, 255, 258  
 Tur, 54, 57, 61, 62, 143, 183, 287

## U

Al-Umarī, 10, 60, 69, 70, 72, 75, 129, 165, 170, 179, 180, 193, 211, 212, 215-220, 223, 224, 240, 256, 266, 271, 275  
 Umar's Assurance of Safety, 83, 111, 112  
 Ur, 2, 38, 82, 86, 185, 293  
 Urā Shalm, 186  
 UriShalim, 86, 87, 114  
 Ur-Salim, 2

## W

Waqf of Tamīm, 100, 248  
 Wilāyat al-Quds, 180, 181, 199  
 Wilāyat al-Quds al-Sharīf, 180, 199, 288  
 Wilderness, 28, 42, 57, 58, 59, 65, 72, 146, 153, 156, 157, 188, 220-224, 271, 275

## Y

Yabūs, 82  
 Yaqīn, 180, 186, 228, 232, 241, 292, 300  
 Yarmuk, 110  
 Yemen, 33, 35, 43, 49, 215  
 Yousha'. *See* Joshua  
 Yubna, 252

**Z**

Zoar, 143, 169, 201, 205, 207, 208, 209,  
216, 219, 223, 224, 271, 274, 275





## هذا الكتاب

يناقش هذا الكتاب إقليم بيت المقدس وامتداده الجغرافي خلال العصور الإسلامية من خلال إجراء دراسة تحليلية لحدود هذا الإقليم. ومن الجدير بالذكر أن الباحث الرئيس لهذه الدراسة هو الإهمال الذي لقيه مفهوم "الإقليم" بعد أن كان معروفاً خلال العصور الإسلامية المبكرة، إضافةً إلى تلاشي المعرفة بامتداد هذا الإقليم وحدوده الجغرافية في العصور المتعاقبة.

وتبحث هذه الدراسة بأسلوب نقدي في الروايات المباشرة والعامّة التي أشارت إلى إقليم بيت المقدس منذ العصر الإسلامي المبكر، ولم تقف الدراسة عند هذا الحد، بل تعدته إلى التفريق بين هذا المفهوم الخاص بإقليم بيت المقدس والحدود الإدارية والسياسية التي ظهرت وتعددت ضمن هذا الإقليم. وهذا دفع المؤلف إلى مقارنة و موازنة امتداد وحدود إقليم بيت المقدس مع امتداد الحدود الدينية والجغرافية الثابتة لحرمي مكة المكرمة والمدينة المنورة.

تنطلق هذه الدراسة كذلك لتناقش الإطار الأوسع الذي يوجد فيه إقليم بيت المقدس. وهذا يشمل دراسة الامتداد الجغرافي لمنطقتي الأرض المقدسة والأرض المباركة، والتي يعد إقليم بيت المقدس جزءاً مركزياً فيهما، مع الإشارة إلى أن هذين المفهومين القرآنيين أيضاً قد طرأ عليهما الكثير من سوء الفهم والتشويه.

من جانبٍ آخر، تشمل هذه الدراسة على بحث تفصيلي للمصادر الإسلامية فيما يتعلق بالإشارة لأسماء بيت المقدس عبر مختلف العصور، ومن الواضح أن هذا البحث أظهر مدى اتساع الأسماء التي استعملت ضمن دلالات شتى تشير تارةً إلى المسجد الأقصى، وتارةً إلى المدينة المسورة أو ما يسمى حالياً البلدة القديمة، وتارةً أخرى إلى إقليم بيت المقدس، هذا بالإضافة إلى ظهور مصطلحات جديدة في فترات لاحقة مثل "أرض بيت المقدس" و "بلاد القدس" والتي بدأت بدورها تظهر ملاصقةً لأسماء "بيت المقدس" عند الإشارة بشكل خاص إلى الإقليم.

كما تؤكد الدراسة أن إقليم بيت المقدس يُشكّل جزءاً أساسياً في المصطلحات القرآنية والنبوية الشريفة، حيث يستوطن هذا الإقليم قلب ما اصطلح عليه بالأرض المباركة، ويمتد بما يتطابق تقريباً مع مساحة وامتداد الأرض المقدسة.

وختاماً، فإن هذه الدراسة تعتبر إضافةً علمية كبيرة وهامةً في دراسات بيت المقدس، حيث بينت وطورت أدلةً جديدةً تعتبر لبنات هامة في دراسات بيت المقدس كحقول معرفي جديد وواعد. كما أرست هذه الدراسة حجر أساسٍ لا بد منه في هذا الصرح المعرفي الجديد، ومهدت الطريق نحو مستقبل البحث العلمي الأكاديمي في هذا المجال.